DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 406 275 SO 027 047

AUTHOR	Schwartz, Donald, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Understanding Revolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union through History and Literature, 50 Lesson Plans.
INSTITUTION	California State Univ., Long Beach.
SPONS AGENCY	National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	144p.; This publication resulted from a 1989 summer institute at California State University, Long Beach.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Communism; Foreign Countries; Literary History; *Marxism; *Russian Literature; Secondary Education; *Socialism; Social Studies; Teaching Guides; *World History
IDENTIFIERS	Russia; USSR

ABSTRACT

This resource book provides 50 learning activities with background materials for teaching about tsarist Russia and the emergence of the Soviet Union. Use of literature, history, geography, primary sources, various learning strategies are all included. The lessons provide study of 19th and 20th century events to Mikhail Gorbachev and perestroika. Many lesson plans reflect special requirements of the California History/Social Science Framework, which recommends the integration of literature, primary sources, and cooperative learning strategies. (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 406 275

50 Lesson Plans on

UNDERSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH HISTORY AND LITERATURE

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Joy Evans

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SO023074

1989 Summer Institute at
California State University, Long Beach

Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

50 Lesson Plans on

UNDERSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Dr. Donald Schwartz
Project Director

Dr. Toivo Raun
Dr. Harold Schefski
Project Faculty

1989 Summer Institute at
California State University, Long Beach

Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This guidebook is result of a 1989 summer institute at California State University, Long Beach, "Understanding Revolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union Through History and Literature," funded by The National Endowment for the Humanities. The summer program was conducted for secondary school social science teachers from various districts in Southern California.

Professor Toivo Raun of California State University, Long Beach served as the content specialist in Russian and Soviet History; Professor Harold Schefski of California State University, Long Beach, coordinated the literature component for the institute; and Dr. Donald Schwartz of California State University, Long Beach, served as the Project Director.

We are indebted to Carol Craven for her clerical assistence and a special note of gratitude to Sharon Olson of California State University, Long Beach, whose technical and editorial contribution was essential to the production of this document. The lesson plans contained in this guidebook reflect the creativity and scholarship of the twenty-six teachers who attended the institute.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE INSTITUTE

NAME	SCHOOL	DISTRICT
Anthony Armendariz	Jefferson High School	L.A. Unified
Monta Armstrong	Cerritios High School	ABC Unified
Bob Atherton	Los Alamitos High School	Los Alamitos Unified
Tom Bergeson	Gahr High School	ABC Unified
Paul Bethel	Whittier High School	Whittier Unified
Donna Carrington		
Robert Casserek	Westminster High School	Huntington Beach Union
Betty Cramer	Chaffey High School	Chaffey Unified
Jay Green	Cypress High School	Anaheim Unified
Jean-Paul Martel	Long Beach Public Schools	Long Beach Unified
Gene Moffitt	Poly High School	Long Beach Unified
Todd Mohrfeld	St. Anthony's High School	Archdioses of Los Angeles
Donna Morel	St. Joseph High School	Archdioses of Los Angeles
Dorothy Paige	Compton High School	Compton Unified
Graham Pink	Bassett High School	Bassett Unified
Garry Rhoades	Edison High School	Huntington Beach
Bill Richardson		
Natalie Roesch		Norwalk-La Mirada Unified
Gloria Robles	Bell Garden High School	Montebello Unified
Dan Scarborough	Ontario High School	Chaffey Unified
Larry Smith	Pioneer High School	Whittier Unified
Mary Stebbins	Jordan High School	Long Beach Unified
Fred Steeby	Carr Intermediate	Santa Ana Unified
Dave Tallman	Edison High School	Huntington Beach Union
Bob Taylor	Kraemer Jr. High School	Placentia Unified
Dick Wilkerson	Poly High School	Long Beach Unified

Dr. Donald Schwartz contributed to the material contained on these pages and served as editor for this guidebook. Finally we would like to acknowledge the support and assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities which made the project possible.

CONTENTS*

Page	
1	Lesson Plan 1: Geographic Influences on Russian and Soviet Society
3	Lesson Plan 2: Physical Geography of Russia
4	Lesson Plan 3: People of the Soviet Union
7	Lesson Plan 4: Political, Social, and Economic Problems faced by the Soviet Union Over the Issue of Nationality (Cooperative Learning)
11	Lesson Plan 5: Russian Poetry and Themes in 19th Century Russian History (Literature, Cooperative Learning)
20	Lesson Plan 6: Russian Serfdom Vs. U.S. Slavery (Cooperative Learning)
21	Lesson Plan 7: Political Development of Russia Between 1861 and 1917
22	Lesson Plan 8: Religion in Tsarist Russia
23	Lesson Plan 9: Russian Expansionism (Cooperative Learning)
26	Lesson Plan 10: The Struggle for Change in Nineteenth-Century Russia (Literature)
28	Lesson Plan 11: Revolutionary Tradition in Russia (to 1905) (Cooperative Learning)
29	Lesson Plan 12: The Revolutionary Tradition in Russian History (Literature)
34	Lesson Plan 13: What Causes People to Revolt Against Their Government?
35	Lesson Plan 14: The 1905 Revolution (Literature, Cooperative Learning)
37	Lesson Plan 15: The Revolution of 1905 (Primary Sources)
40	Lesson Plan 16: The Bolshevik Revolution (Primary Sources)
43	Lesson Plan 17: Continuity and change in the October 1917 Russian Revolution (Cooperative Learning)
44	Lesson Plan 18: Russian Revolution of March 1917
45	Lesson Plan 19: Comparison of the French and Russian Revolutions (Cooperative Learning)
46	Lesson Plan 20: The Russian Revolution of March 1917
48	Lesson Plan 21: Causes of the March 1917 Revolution (Primary Sources, Cartoon Interpretation)
50	Lesson Plan 22: Conditions in Russia After the October 1917 Revolution (Primary Sources, Literature)
53	Lesson Plan 23: Effect of the Communist Revolution on the People of the Soviet Union
54	Lesson Plan 24: Russian Civil War (Cooperative Learning)

55 Lesson Plan 25: Stalin's Leadership (Primary Sources)

58 Lesson Plan 26: Stalin and the Five Year Plans

62 Lesson Plan 27: Changes Wrought by Rapid Industrialization Under Stalin (Primary Sources)

65 Lesson Plan 28: The Terror of Joseph Stalin (Primary Sources)

68 Lesson Plan 29: The Purges of Stalinist Russia (Primary Sources)

72 Lesson Plan 30: Purges Under Stalin (Literature)

75 Lesson Plan 31: Oppression Under Stalin (Literature, Cooperative Learning)

78 Lesson Plan 32: Comparison of the Holocaust and the Famine in the Ukraine (Literature)

81 Lesson Plan 33: Comparison of Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin

84 Lesson Plan 34: Stalin and World War II (Primary Sources)

88 Lesson Plan 35: Impact of World War II on Soviet Society (Literature)

90 Lesson Plan 36: Stalinism and De-Stalinization (Literature)

93 Lesson Plan 37: Solzhenitsyn's Criticism of Stalinism (Literature)

96 Lesson Plan 38: American View on the Cold War as Seen Through Political Cartoons

99 Lesson Plan 39: The Origins of the Cold War (Primary Sources)

102 Lesson Plan 40: Conflicting Interpretations of the Cold War (Historiography)

107 Lesson Plan 41: Communist Revolutions in China and the Soviet Union

110 Lesson Plan 42: China and the USSR Compared

113 Lesson Plan 43: The Sino/Soviet Split

114 Lesson Plan 44: The Reform Tradition in Russian and Soviet History (Cooperative Learning)

115 Lesson Plan 45: Gorbachev and the Policy of Perestroika (Primary Sources)

120 Lesson Plan 46: Resistance to Gorbachev's Reforms (Literature, Cooperative Literature)

126 Lesson Plan 47: Soviet Leaders Since 1917

128 Lesson Plan 48: Political Role of Women in the USSR, 1955-1975

130 Lesson Plan 49: Religion in the Soviet Union (Literature)

135 Lesson Plan 50: Current Problems in the Soviet Union

(*Note: Many of these lesson plans reflect special requirements of the California History/Social Science Framework, which recommends the integration of literature, primary sources and cooperative learning strategies. Such features are noted following the lesson topics.)

LESSON PLAN 1

TOPIC: GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES ON RUSSIAN AND SOVIET SOCIETY

OBJECTIVE: Students will have an understanding and insight into the influences that geography and climate have played on the evolution of Russian history.

MOTIVATION: Display a large topographical map of the Eurasian continent.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

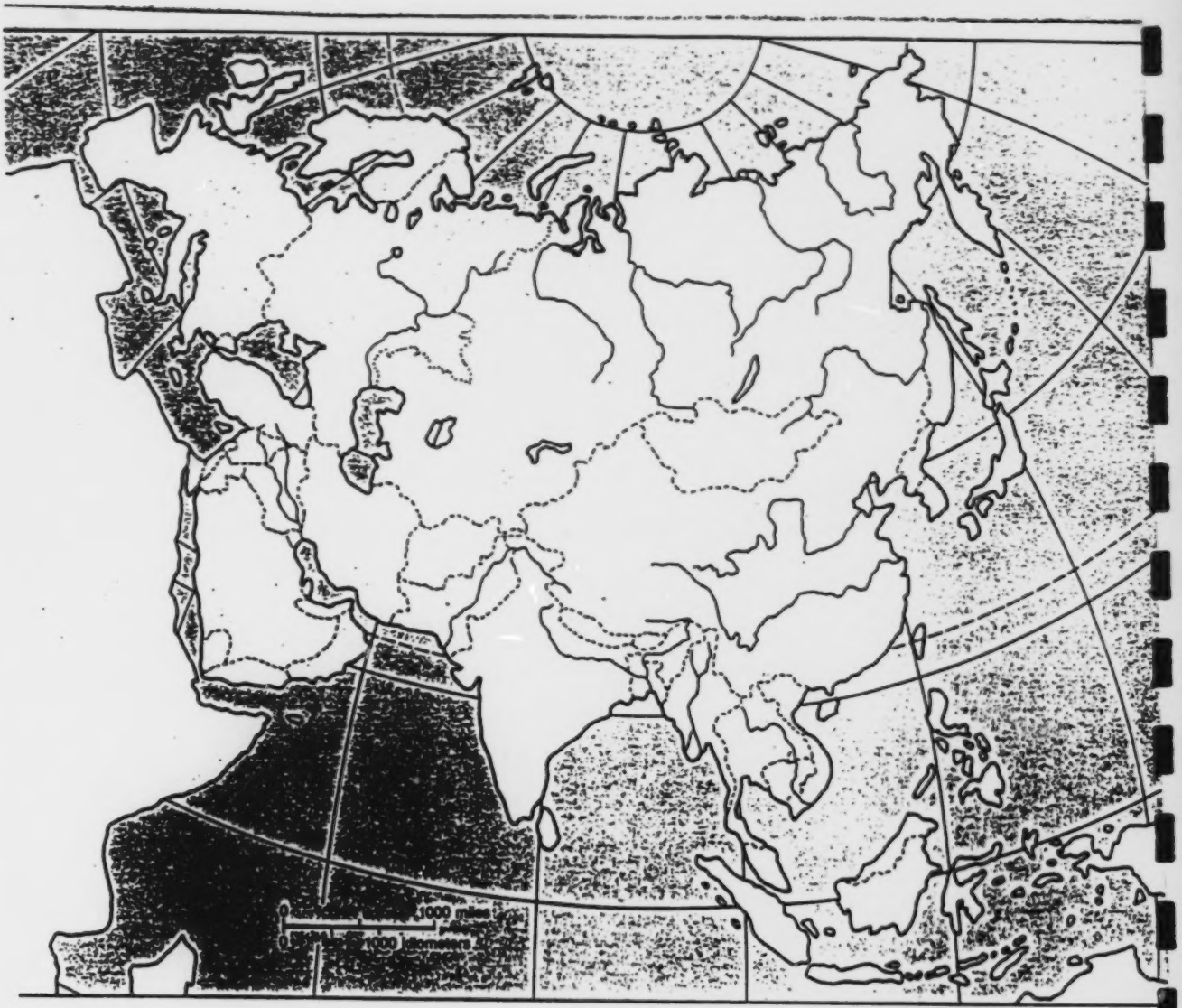
1. Distribute copies of the outline map (Handout 1.1) and have students locate the following:
   Seas—Baltic, White, Black, Caspian, Bering
   Rivers—Dniester, Dnieper, Don, Volga, Ob, Yenisey, Leng, Indigirha, Kolyma, Omolon
   Mountain Ranges—Urals, Caucasus
2. Students will be asked the following questions:
   a). Why do Russian rivers generally flow north? What effect does this have on transportation, communication, and development?
   b). What is the likely psychology of a people and its government when it has no natural barriers and has frequently been invaded (i.e., by Varangians, Mongols, Tartars, French, Germans, etc.)?

EVALUATION

1. Have students write a short essay on the importance of ice-free ports and expansion to the Baltic, Black Sea, and Pacific regions.
2. Have students write a short essay on why Napoleon and Hitler ran into similar problems by invading Russia.

Submitted by Graham Pink, Donna Marel, and Betty Cramer

HANDOUT 1.1



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LESSON PLAN 2

TOPIC: PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF RUSSIA

MATERIALS NEEDED: Physical map of Eurasia, Overhead Projector, Overlay maps of the outline of the Soviet Union and of the United States. (Maps need to be to same scale). Handout with questions, characteristics of geographic features, climate, resources (student outline maps optional).

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will be able to recognize and place on the outline map the salient geographic features, climate, and natural resources of the Soviet Union.
2. Students will be able to explain the concept of "continental" climate.
3. Students will be able to write an essay describing the Soviet Union's geographic features, climates, time zones, and natural resources. They will be able to integrate the "physical features" concepts with the realization that the Soviet Union has a history of problems associated with its geographic vastness and variety.
4. Students will be able to compare the geography of the Soviet Union with that of the United States.

MOTIVATION: Display a map of Eurasia along with a map of the United States. Sample Questions: What latitudes are the United States and the Soviet Union in? In what direction do the rivers flow? How is that an advantage or disadvantage? What time zone are within the continental U.S. and in the Soviet Union? What kind of climate zones would be found in the Soviet Union? What bodies of water are entirely within Soviet political boundaries? How does the Soviet Union compare in size with the U.S.?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

Students will write a short essay describing the geographic features, climate, time zones, and natural resources of the Soviet Union and the effects those features have on transportation, communication, agricultural production, trade and living conditions in the Soviet Union.

1. Discuss student answers to the questions above.
2. Students will draw a map of the Soviet Union showing the physical features as the teacher "chalk talks" along with them as they work simultaneously. Time zones and resources symbols will be included in this part of the lesson (outline maps may be supplied to the students to shorten time needed).
   Features shall include: Arctic Circle, Oral, Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas, Dardanelles/Bosporus straits, Lake Baikal; Kamchatka and Crimean peninsula, Baltic and Balkan peninsulas: Ural and Himalaya Mountains, deserts, major rivers unnamed for our purposes, timberlands, vegetation,oil, coal, iron ore, and gold resources.
3. Students will note take during the defining of "continental climate", warm summers, cold winters, hot and cold desert regions, precipitation and extremes of temperatures as the teacher guides the students in identifying these areas and terms.
4. Homework assignment will be repeated.

EVALUATION: The student maps and the essays will be used by the teacher to evaluate their understanding to the lesson.

APPLICATION: The California Framework for Social Sciences requires studies in comparison between the Soviet Union and China, the effect of world wars on the Soviet Union, and some practical knowledge of the literature and history of the Soviet Union. This geography lesson is an opening exercise that would help students understand the problems of the USSR in all of these areas.

Submitted by Graham Pink, Donna Marel, and Betty Cramer.

LESSON PLAN 3

TOPIC: PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

OBJECTIVES:
1. To acquaint students with the multi-ethnic composition of the Soviet Union.
2. Students will analyze the societal problems faced by a multi-ethnic nation.

MOTIVATION: (5 to 10 minutes) brainstorming exercise: What words do we associate with 1) Russian \ Soviet, and 2) American?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: (5 to 10 Minutes) Evaluation of brainstorming—variety of activities:
1. Probing
2. Pairing
3. Discussing
4. Clustering

INFORMATIONAL
1. Distribute handouts of major Soviet Nationalities (Handout 3:1)
2. Discuss the handout - show the different groups
3. Hand out map of the Soviet Union show the 15 Soviet Republics (Handout 3.2)
4. Assign to students - map activity. Place the location of the ethnic groups with the appropriate region on the map.

SUMMARY OR EVALUATION: topic for discussion or essay:

What are three social problems faced by the population of the Soviet Union because of the multi-ethnic composition of the population?

APPLICATION: Teacher will compare the problems faced by the multi-cultural make-up of the Soviet Union with the multi-cultural situation of the United States.

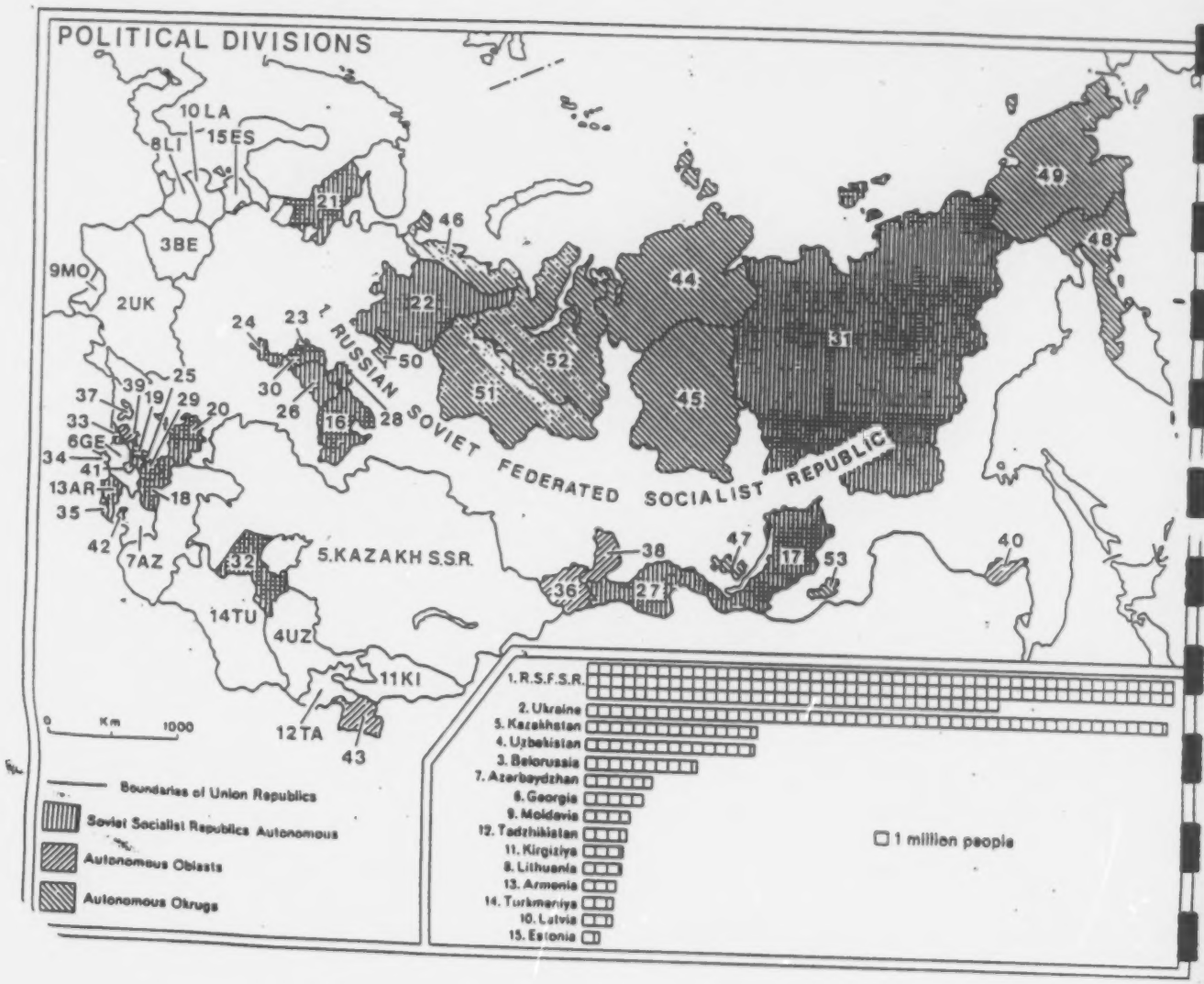
Submitted by Larry Smith, Fred Steeby, Jay Green, and Gloria Robles

HANDOUT 3.1

MAJOR SOVIET NATIONALITIES:
CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Ehnic Group	Number(1979)	% of total USSR	Language Group	Traditional religion
Russians (Great)	137.4 mill.	52.4 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Ukrainians (Little)	42.3 mill.	16.2 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Uzbeks	12.5 mill.	4.8	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Belorussians (White)	9.5 mill.	3.6 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Kazakhs	6.6 mill.	2.5	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Tatars	6.3 mill.	2.4	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Azeris	5.5 mill.	2.1	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Armenians	4.2 mill.	1.6	Indo-European (Miscellaneous)	Armenian Christianity
Georgians	3.6 mill.	1.4	Caucasian	Georgian Orthodoxy
Moldavians	3.0 mill.	1.1	Indo-European (Romance)	Orthodoxy
Tadzhiks	2.9 mill.	1.1	Indo-European (Iranian)	Islam
Lithuanians	2.9 mill.	1.1	Indo-Eropean (Baltic)	Catholicism
Turkmen	2.0 mill.	0.8	Atlaic (Turkic)	Islam
Kirgiz	1.9 mill.	0.7	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Jews	1.8 mill.	0.7	Indo-European (Germanic)	Judaism
Latvians	1.4 mill.	0.5	Indo-European (Baltic)	Lutheranism
Estonians	1.0 mill.	0.4	Uralic (Finnic)	Lutheranism

HANDOUT 3.2



BEST COPY AVAiLABLE

LESSON PLAN 4

TOPIC: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACED BY THE SOVIET UNION OVER THE ISSUE OF NATIONALITY

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to identify some of the basic reasons for nationality problems facing the Soviet Union today.

MOTIVATIONS: Students will be told to write the next assignment in Spanish, learn the Mexican National Anthem, and that school will be taught in Spanish from tomorrow on. The students will write down any problems they think might be troublesome under the above conditions.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will receive sheet on Major Soviet Nationalities (Handout 4.1)
2. Pair each student with a partner.
3. Students will be asked how many different languages and religions are listed on sheet.
4. Ask students to write down as many problems (social, political, economics) that they can think of that would occur if a country spoke many languages and had many ethnic (you might discuss what an ethnic group is) groups.
5. Have students share their ideas with their partners.
6. Share ideas with the entire class.

SUMMARY: List the problems on the board under the following headings:

Social Economic Political

APPLICATION: If the Unite States continues to allow large-scale immigration of different ethnic groups, will the United States face the same problems? Could led to a discussion of many topics: Make English national language, limit or stop immigration, etc.) Have students read "2087, A Time For Second-Degree Citizenship" (Handout 4.2)

Submitted by Jay Green

HANDOUT 4.1

MAJOR SOVIET NATIONALITIES:
CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Ehnic Group	Number(1979)	% of total USSR	Language Group	Traditional religion
Russians (Great)	137.4 mill.	52.4 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Ukrainians (Little)	42.3 mill.	16.2 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Uzbeks	12.5 mill.	4.8	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Belorussians (White)	9.5 mill.	3.6 (Slavic)	Indo-European	Orthodoxy
Kazakhs	6.6 mill.	2.5	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Tatars	6.3 mill.	2.4	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Azeris	5.5 mill.	2.1	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Armenians	4.2 mill.	1.6	Indo-European (Miscellaneous)	Armenian Christianity
Georgians	3.6 mill.	1.4	Caucasian	Georgian Orthodoxy
Moldavians	3.0 mill.	1.1	Indo-European (Romance)	Orthodoxy
Tadzhiks	2.9 mill.	1.1	Indo-European (Iranian)	Islam
Lithuanians	2.9 mill.	1.1	Indo-Eropean (Baltic)	Catholicism
Turkmen	2.0 mill.	0.8	Atlaic (Turkic)	Islam
Kirgiz	1.9 mill.	0.7	Altaic (Turkic)	Islam
Jews	1.8 mill.	0.7	Indo-European (Germanic)	Judaism
Latvians	1.4 mill.	0.5	Indo-European (Baltic)	Lutheranism
Estonians	1.0 mill.	0.4	Uralic (Finnic)	Lutheranism

HANDOUT 4.2

2087: A Time For Second-Degree Citizenship

The year is 2087. The United States is celebrating the tricentennial of the Constitution. But, since the last time Americans held such a celebration back in 1987, the world and the United States have changed a great deal. This description of the world and the United States 100 years from now is based on projections and informed assumptions from several sources. Some of the population trends identified in the article are already under way. They may or may not result in the problems forecasted in this hypothetical, futuristic speculation.

Decline of the West

Starting in the 1970s, most western democratic nations began to experience a decline in birth rates. More specifically, married couples were not even replacing themselves with two children. Consequently, each succeeding generation produced even fewer offspring. In 1985, the western democracies had a combined population of 732 million persons. Today, in 2087, about 580 million people live in the west.

While the number of the people in the west was declining, the rest of the world experienced a population boom. The Soviet Union and its industrialized satellites saw their populations increase from 390 million in 1985 to 520 million on 2087. Even more dramatically, the poor "Third World" nations exploded with people: from 3.6 billion (1985) to 9.5 billion (in 2087). The "population superpowers" of today are countries like China, India, and Mexico.

Currently, in 2087, the Third World and Soviet bloc countries make up 95% of the world's population. The west, which had 15% of world's people in 1985, now has only 5% in 2087. The U.S. share decreased from 5% to .02% during the same time period.

For centuries the western nations dominated world economic development, technology and commerce. Moreover, western culture and values, such as political freedom, were admired by the rest of the world. Democracy became the shining example of government. But now in 2087, these conditions have changed.

Today, the vast majority of people in the world live in undemocratic countries—even brutal dictatorships. Most individuals strive each day just to survive and have little understanding or interest in such things as freedom of the press or equal rights for women. Children commonly grow up hungry, unhealthy and illiterate. Wars, revolutions and terrorism occur regularly.

The western democracies, with their shrinking 5% of the world's population, have become like medieval castles, isolated and surrounded by the forces of poverty and despair. With their declining populations and smaller tax base, these nations are finding it difficult to maintain large enough armies and the sophisticate weapons necessary to defend their ways of life.

A Changing America

America's population reached its peak in 2030 with 290 million people. After that, the population decline experienced earlier by most western European nations began to occur here. Birth rates went down because of more women working, delayed marriages, an increase in divorces and many other factors.

By 2050, the number of people in the United States had decreased by 5 million and continued falling, causing some serious economic problems. The demand for new houses and other types of construction diminished. Many manufacturing and retail firms went out of business. The American automobile industry disappeared entirely. With fewer workers in the labor force to pay taxes, Social Security and Medicare benefits had to be cut for large numbers of elderly people.

Over the next 20 years, the population decrease worsened. The U.S. lost a total of 10 million people. America also apparently entered a period of low economic growth.

In 2076, the tricentennial of the Declaration of Independence the United States made a difficult and pivotal decision. Congress passed, and the president signed, a law that increased the number of immigrants legally allowed in the country each year from 450,000 to 1.5 million. Americans realized that without more people, the country would become progressively weaker, both economically and militarily.

The Immigrant Act of 2076 has now been operating for more than ten years. During this time most of the new immigrants have come from Third World countries, mainly Latin America. They are hardworking and have revived the country, yet many are poorly educated, unskilled and unfamiliar with the way democracy works. Because the new immigrants have higher birth rate than native Americans, the U.S. population is beginning to grow again.

The new immigrant policy is starting to change the face of America. Hispanics have replaced blacks as the largest ethnic minority in the country. They now are a majority population group in serval states, including California. Nationwide, Americans of European ancestry account for little more than 50 percent of the population. If current trends continue, this group will shortly become a minority in American society.

The changing population of America has brought about some profound consequences. The recent immigrants seem very reluctant to give up their native languages and cultures. In some cities like Miami and San Francisco where immigrants are highly concentrated, locally elected school boards have required classes to be taught only in Spanish or Chinese. Some city councils with a majority of newly naturalized citizens have demanded that more municipal jobs go to immigrant workers, especially males. In congress, bills have been introduced calling for ethnic festivals to be declared national holidays. Traditional American holidays like Thanksgiving Day, and even the Fourth of July, seem to be fading in importance. America in 2087 is rapidly becoming a nation of diverse language, cultures and traditions.

The Second Class Citizen Law

In 2087, a newcomer to America may apply to become a naturalized citizen after living legally in the country for five years. To become a full citizen an immigrant must pass an English literacy test as well as an exam in American history and government; then he or she must take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

Concerned that our traditional way of life is gradually disappearing with the changing population, some members of Congress have proposed a new naturalization amendment to the United States Constitution. Basically, the amendment would create two degrees of citizens. The first-degree would include all current citizens, native and naturalized. They would continue to enjoy all the traditional rights and privileges of Americans. Second-degree citizens would consist of all immigrants entering the country after passage of this amendment. They would be guaranteed many rights, but denied others such as the right to vote.

The idea behind this proposed amendment isn't entirely new to American history. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, George Mason from Virginia said he was all for "opening a wide door for immigrants," but he did not want "to let foreigners and adventurers make laws for and govern us." Supporters of the "Second-Degree Citizen Amendment" believe that it is necessary in order to preserve our traditions and political heritage established by the Founding Fathers at Philadelphia in 1787.

LESSON PLAN 5

TOPIC: RUSSIAN POETRY AND THEMES IN 19TH CENTURY RUSSIAN HISTORY.

OBJECTIVE: Students will identify themes in 19th century Russian poetry.

MOTIVATION: Each student will pair up with a partner. Together with with the partner they will list themes in their lives which are the most important to them at this moment. Students will share their lists with the class.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

ASSUMPTION: Students previously shall have studied 19th century Russian history, so that the poetry may be studied in the light of that knowledge and reinforce it.

1. Discuss examples of themes: courage, love, patriotism, romanticism, materialism, didacticism, religion, night and day, cold and warmth, pain and suffering, urban and rural life, redemption and suffering, and social themes. Student partners will discuss and then share with the class concrete examples of the categorical themes in their lives at home, school, community, nation, and world community.
2. Using poetry handouts from 20th century Russian history (different ones to different students), ask students to identify themes in the poetry. Write the titles and themes on the board for students to refer to later if they need to review.
3. Explain symbolism; using examples from a poem show how a poet may use a tree to symbolize life; fallen leaves-death; new growth -youth, etc. Ask students to look through their poems for possible examples of symbolism. Put examples on the board. Ask students for reasons why poets use symbolism and metaphor instead of real people or real events in history. The use of a cartoon may help this idea of symbolism along.
4. Hand out copies of the ten 19th century Russian poems (Handout 5.1) to all individuals in the class (approximately three or four students will have the same poem). Ask students individually to read the poem and to write their own interpretation of the theme, meaning of the symbols, and ideas expressed in the poem, especially as the ideas may relate to 19th century history of Russia. When they have finished, group the students with the others who have the same poem so that they may compare their ideas. One spokesman from each group may read poems and interpretations to the class, using examples from their papers.

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT: Using any event from 19th century Russian history students will write a short poem (not less than four lines, nor greater than 8 lines) on a theme appropriate to time and place in Russian history. Discuss student work, identifying themes and symbols as they read their poems to the class.

EVALUATION: Present students with a new poem (see attached poems) and have them identify and write their interpretation of the poem, its theme, the symbolism, and the event or events the poem may describe in a short essay.

APPLICATION: Ask students to compare these historic events with current events associated with glasnost in the Soviet Union today.

Submitted by Betty Cramer

HANDOUT 5.1

19th Century Poems
(to use for Lecture/Examples)

Source: *A Treasury of Russian Verse*. Avrahm Yarmolinsky, ed. The MacMillan Co., New York, 1949.

MY COUNTRY by Mikhail Lermontov

I love my country, but that love is odd: My reason has no part in it at all!
Neither her glory, bought with blood, Nor her proud strength hold me in thrall; No venerable customs stir in me the pleasant play of revery.
Ask me not why I love, but love I must...Her fields' cold silences, Her somber forests swaying in a gust, Her rivers at the flood like seas.
I love to rattle on rough roads at night, My lodging still to find, while half awake I peer through shadows left and right And watch the lights of mournful hamlets quake. I love the smoke above singed stubble rising; I love a caravan that winds forlorn ...Across the steppe; I love surprising Two birches white above the yellow corn.
A well stocked barn, a hut with a thatched roof, Carved shutters on a village window: these Are simple things in truth, But few can see them as my fond eye sees.
And on a holiday, from dewy dusk until Midnight, it is a boon for me ...To watch the dancers stomping to the shrill ...Loud babble of the drunken peasantry.

THE COSMIC FABRIC by Yakov Polonsky

This vast web, of Nature's weaving, Is God's garment, so 'tis said. In that fabric I—a living, I—a still unbroken thread. And the thread runs swiftly, never ...Halting, yet if once it sever, ...Seer or sage shall not suffice ...The divided strands to splice. For the Weaver so will veil it... That (let him who may bewail it) ...None the ends shall ever find, Nor the broken thread rebind. Ceaselessly the threads are breaking—Short, ah short will be my span! Meanwhile at his fabric's making ...Toils the cosmic artisan, Curious patterns still designing, Wave and crested hill defining, Steppe and pasture, cloud and sky, Wood and field of golden rye. Vainly may the wise men scan it: Flawless since that Hand began it, Smooth and fine, with beauty stored, Shines the garment of the Lord!

TO N.N. by Alexander Pushkin

From Aesculapius escaping, I'm lean and shaven, but alive; His cruel paw no more torments me, And there is hope that I may thrive.

Now health, the light friend of Priapus, And sleep, are entering my door, And in my plain and crowded corner ... Repose becomes my guest once more. Then humor this poor convalescent, ...You, too—he longs to see again ... Your face, you lawless carefree creature, Parnassus' lazy citizen, The son of Freedom and of Bacchus, Who worships Venus piously, A master hand at every pleasure.

From Petersburg society, its chilly charms, its idle bustle, its clacking tongues that nothing stills, its various and endless boredom, I'm summoned by the fields and hills, The shady maples in the garden, The bank of the deserted burn, The liberties the country offers.

Give me your hand. I shall return... At the beginning of October: We'll drink together once again, And o'er our cups with friendly candor...Discuss a dozen gentlemen—We'll talk of fools and wicked gentry, And those with flunkeys' souls from birth, And sometimes of the King of Heaven, And sometimes of the czar on earth. (1819)

AUTUMN by Aleksandr Pushkin

1. October has come. The grove is already shaking the last leaves from its naked branches. The autumn cold has breathed, the road is becoming frozen; the stream still runs, babbling, beyond the mill, but ice has already formed on the pond; my neighbor with his pack makes in haste for the hunting-fields, the winter crops suffer from the furious sport, and the hounds' baying rouses the sleeping woods.
2. This is my season: spring I do not like; thaw I find a nuisance— the smell, the slush—spring makes me ill: my blood is in ferment, my feelings and my mind are hampered by longing. I like stern winter better, I love her snows: how smoothly, rapidly, and freely the sleigh glides in the moonlight when you are with a friend and when, warm and fresh beneath her sable fur, flushed and trembling, she squeezes your hand.
3. What fun it is to glide, shod with sharp steel, over the glassy and even face of still rivers! And what of the glittering stir of winter festivals? ...But there is a limit: snow for half the year at a stretch—even the bear, dwelling in its lair, will have had enough of it in the end. You cannot for ever go sleigh-riding with young Armidas, or sit moping by the stove behind double windows. Armida is a beautiful sorceress in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.
4. Oh, fair summer! I would be fond of you, were it not for the heat, the dust, the mosquitoes, and the flies. You torment us by sapping all our mental faculties; like the fields, we suffer from drought; we think of nothing except of drinking and refreshing ourselves—and we regret old Dame Winter. And, after bidding her farewell with pancakes and wine, we now commemorate her with ice-cream and ice.
5. The days of late autumn are abused as a rule, but I, dear reader, love this season for its quiet beauty and its humble glow. She attracts me like a child unloved in its own family. Of all the seasons of the year, to tell you the truth, I welcome her alone. There is much in her that's good, and I, who am not a vainglorious lover, have found in my whimsical fancy something special in her.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SEPTEMBER by Innokenty Annensky

Gilded but decaying gardens, with the lure of purple on the slow-growing ailments, and the sun's tardy heat in its short curved rays, powerless to distil itself into fragrant fruit.

And the yellow silk of the carpets, and the coarse traces, and the avowed falsehood of the last meeting; and the black, bottomless ponds of the parks, long ready for ripe suffering.

But the heart senses only the beauty of bereavement, feels only the lure of spell-bound strength; and those who have already tasted of the lotus, are excited by the insinuating aroma of autumn.

POPPIES by Innokenty Annensky

The gay day is ablaze... In the languid grass patches of poppies are everywhere, like avid impotence, ...like lips full of temptation and poison, like the spread-out wings of scarlet butterflies.

The gay day is ablaze...But the garden is empty and overgrown. It has long since done with temptations and feasting, and the withered poppies, like heads of old women, are overspread by the radiant chalice of heaven.

THE BOW AND THE STRINGS by Innokenty Annensky

How oppressive, how dark the delirium! How turbid those moonlit heights! To have touched the violin for so many years and not to recognize the strings in the light!

Who needs us? Who has lit up two yellow and melancholy faces? ... And suddenly the bow felt someone take them up and merge them.

Oh, how long it has been! Tell me one thing through this darkness: are you the same one, the same one?'...

And the strings pressed close to him caressingly, ringing but quivering in this fond caress.

'It's true, it is not , that we shall never part again, that it is enough?' And the violin replied yes, though its heart was gripped with pain.

The bow understood everything, and fell silent; but in the violin the resonance still persisted, and what seemed music to men was torment to them.

But the man did not blow out the candles till morning...And the strings sang...Only the fun found them, drained of strength, on the black velved of the bed.

POETRY OF THE 19TH CENTURY
SONG by Vasily Zhukovsky

Enchantment of bygone days—why have you come to life again? Who has roused the memories and the dreams that had fallen silent? A greeting which I used to know well has whispered to my soul; familiar eyes have shone upon it; and for an instant it beheld what had long been invisible to it.

O beloved guest—sacred past— why do you invade my breast? Can I say to hope, 'Live'? Shall I say to that which was, 'Be'? Shall I by able to see in a new radiance the beauty of a faded dream? Shall I be able once again to clothe the nakedness of the life that I know so well?

Why does the soul long to fly to the land where days were such as are no longer? The deserted land will not be peopled nor see the bygone years;. . . .

there is one silent inhabitant of this land, a witness of the beloved times of old; all the beautiful days have been laid in a single grave with him there.

THE GEESE by Ivan Krylov

With a very long switch a peasant was driving his geese to town, to sell them; and, to tell the simple truth, he treated his flock of geese none too civilly. Driven by the thought of profit, he was hurrying to get there by market day; and when it's a matter of gain, not only geese but men, too, sometimes get it in the neck. I don't blame the peasant; but the geese took a different view and, encountering a passer-by, complained of the peasant thus: 'Where could you find creatures unhappier than we geese? The peasant pushes us around and jostles us along like any common geese. The ignoramus doesn't realize that he owes us respect, and that we trace our high descent from those same geese to which Rome once owed its salvation. Why, there are even feasts instituted there in their honour!...
'But what claim have you to be singled out?' the passer-by asked them. 'But our ancestors...' —'Yes, yes, I know, I've read all about it; but I would like to know of what use you have been.' —But our ancestors saved Rome!' —Yes, yes, but what have you done in this life?' — 'We? Why, nothing.' —'Then what's the good of you? Leave your ancestors in peace; they were honoured in accordance with their deserts; but you, my friends, are fit only for the roast.'
One could make this fable clearer still: but let's not provoke the geese.

PIMEN'S MONOLOGUE FROM 'BORIS GODUNOV' by Aleksandr Pushkin

Pimen(writing by lamplight)
One record more, the last, and my chronicle is finished, the duty laid by God upon me, a sinner, is done. Not in vain did the Lord make me a witness of many years, and instruct me in the lore of books. One day some industrious monk will find my zealous, nameless work; he will light his lamp, as I did, and, shaking the dust of ages from the manuscripts, will transcribe these truthful tales, so that the future generations of the Orthodox may know the bygone fortunes of their native land, remember their great tsars for their labours, their glory, their good actions, and humbly implore the Saviour for their sins, their dark deeds.
In my old age I live anew; the past unrolls before me. It is long since it swept by, teeming with events and turbulent like the ocean? Now it is silent and tranquil. Few are the faces which memory has preserved for me, and few the words which have come down to me—the rest have perished, never to return! ...But day draws near, the lamp is burning low—one record more, the last. (writes)

from EVIL SPIRITS by Aleksandr Pushkin

Bound for the shores of your distant home you were leaving an alien land. In an hour full of sadness, which I shall never forget, I wept before you for a long time. My hands, growing numb, tried to hold you back. My moans implored you not to end the dreadful agony of parting.
But you tore away your lips from our bitter kiss; from a land of dismal exile you called me to another land. You said: 'When we meet again, in the shade of olive trees beneath sky that is always blue, we shall once more, my beloved, be joined together in a kiss of love.'
But there—alas!—where the sky's vault shines with blue radiance, where the shadow of olive-trees lies on the waters, you have fallen asleep for ever ....
Your beauty, your sufferings have vanished in the grave. But the sweet kiss of our meeting—I wait for it; you owe it to me.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

from FROST THE RED-NOSED by Nikolay Nekrasov

(Epic Poem)
It is not the wind storming above the forest, nor the streams running down from the mountains:
General Frost on a patrol is going the round of his domains.
He looks-have the snow-storms covered up the forest paths thoroughly? And is there no crack, no fissure, no bare patch of earth anywhere?
Are the pine-tops feathery? Is the tracery on the oak-trees beautiful? And is the ice solidly clamped on the waters great and small?

He comes. He strides over the trees, his steps crackle on the frozen waters, and the bright sunshine sparkles in his shaggy beard.
All roads are open to the white-haired wizard. Hark! He comes nearer—and all of a sudden he is right above her, straight over her head.
Perched on a tall pine-tree, he smites the branches with his mace and sings a dashing and boastful song about himself:
"Look without fear, fair lady, not well what a fine fellow is General Frost. I'll bet you have never seen a stouter or handsomer fellow!
'The blizzards, the snow, and the mists are always obedient to frost: I'll go to the seas and the oceans and build palaces of ice.

I've only to plan it, and I'll hide mighty rivers for long under a load of ice, and build bridges of ice such as men cannot build.
'Where lately fast-flowing and noisy waters sped freely, today pedestrians and cart-trains of merchandise have passed.
'I love to dress up the dead in hoar-frost in their deep graves, to congeal the blood in their veins, and to freeze the brains in their skills.
'To harass the wicked thief, to startle the rider and horse, I love to start up a salvo of crackling in the forest at nightfall.
The women, blaming it ion the wood-spites, take to their heels and run home. But to fool the drunks on horseback and on foot is funnier still.

'Without chalk I'll plaster their faces with white, their noses will start burning like fire, and I'll freeze their beards to the reins so hard that only an axe can sever them!
'I'm rich, I count not my treasure, yet my fortune never shrinks; I adorn my kingdom with diamonds, pearls, and silver.
Come, enter my kingdom with me, and be its queen. We'll reign gloriously throughout the winter, and in summer we'll fall sound asleep.
'Come, enter! I'll cherish and warm you, I'll assign you a sky blue palace...'And General Frost began to wave his icy mace over her.
'Are you warm, fair lady?', he calls to her from a tall pine-tree. 'I'm warm, 'the widow replies, and she grows numb and shivers with cold.

Frost came down a little lower, waved his mace again, and whispered to her more tenderly, more softly:
'Are you warm?'—I'm warm, my dearest.'
Warm—yet she is growing numb. Frost has touched her; he breathes into her face and scatters over her sharp needles from his white beard.
And now he has come down and stands in front of her. 'Are you warm?' he murmured once more, and suddenly turned into Proklushka,* and started to kiss her.
The white-haired wizard kissed her on the lips, the eyes, and the shoulders, and whispered to her the same sweet words which her lover whispered at wedding-time.
And so happy was Dar'ya to listen to his sweet words ... that she closed her eyes and dropped the axe to the ground.

A smile is playing on the pale lips of the unhappy widow, her eye-lashes are fluffy and white, ice needles cling to her eyebrows...Not a sound! The soul is dying to sorrow and passion. You stand and feel this dead silence enthralling it.

Not a sound! And you see the blue vault of heaven, the sun, and the forest full of marvels arrayed in lustreless silvery hoar-frost;

Alluring in its inscrutable mystery, deep and passionless... But suddenly there is a rustling sound: a squirrel is passing over the tree-tops.

Leaping in the pine-tree, it let fall a lump of now on Dar'ya. And Dar'ya stood and froze in her enchanted sleep...

*The name of her dead husband.

HANDOUT 5.2

ALEXANDER PUSHKIN 1799-1837. By common agreement among his compatriots, Pushkin is the greatest of all Russian writers. Most of his lyrical writing was done between 1820 and 1830. By effecting a new synthesis between the three main ingredients of the Russian literary idiom - the Church Slavonic, the Western European borrowings, and the spoken vernacular—Pushkin created the language of modern Russian poetry. He found conflict with the authorities who disapproved of his liberal views. He wrote an historical play in blank verse, Boris Godunov. Descending from his father's nobility, he graduated from a boarding school and became a clerk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Because of barbed epigrams against people of high rank and poems in praise of liberty he was banished from Petrograd to a remote southern section of the empire. His exile did not create in him a "clean heart toward people of position", and he was dismissed from the Foreign Service and confined to his family estate. He died in a duel of jealousy with an admirer of his wife.

MIKHAIL LERMONTOV 1814-1841. Mikhail was brought up by his father, a country squire of modest means, and his maternal grandmother, a wealthy and highborn woman who saw that he had a fine education at boarding school and military school. His poetry appeared in magazines, but it was his angry elegy on Pushkin's death that brought him fame, and also transfer to a regiment stationed in the Caucasus, as punishment for a piece of writing judged subversive. His mind was hospitable to ideas of political liberty. He was "banished" for having fought a duel. He sought after and despised the literary circles in the capital. He was killed in a duel at the age of twenty-seven. The best of his poetry was written during the last five years of his life, and much of his work was published posthumously.

NIKOLAY NEKRASOV 1821-1877. Nekrasov was the son of a country squire and the leading Russian poet of the second half of the nineteenth century. He admired the radical critic Belinsky, and edited the foremost Russian literary review of his time. The best of his poetry describes the misery of the peasants or reproduces the style of the folk-song. He wrote with a depth of compassion for human misery and degradation which bears comparison with Dostoevsky's work. The description, taken from Frost the Red-Nosed, of the death of the peasant woman who has home onto the frozen forest to gather firewood after her husband's funeral, has a timeless enchantment.

FYODOR TYUTCHEV 1803-1873. Tyutchev came from an old line of noblemen said to have been founded by a Venetian who settled in Russia after graduating from the University of Moscow at eighteen. He married a succession of European widows during his service of ten-plus years in the Russian Embassy at Munich. He held the post of censor during the last twenty years of life. He predicted that Orthodox Russia would ride the waves of the Western revolutionary deluge. He wrote a series of revolutionary political poems about the upheavals in Europe and achieved standing with the general public when a more complete collection of his verse appeared in 1868. After the turn of the century the symbolists rediscovered him and hailed him as a great forerunner.

YAKO POLONSKY 1820-1898. Polonsky, the son of a civil servant, was a novelist and a poet. He did much editorial work, and he was a censor for many years although he was a man of moderately liberal views. In his old age he became conservative and turned to religion. Between 1844, when he published his first book of poems, and 1890, when his last volume appeared, he produced a great deal of popular verse. His lyrics were often set to music.

INNOKENTY ANNENSKY 1856-1909. Annensky was a poet with a loose yet real connection with the Symbolist school. He was a schoolmaster be profession, a distinguished classical scholar, and he retranslated the whole Euripides into Russian. His lyrical verse influenced several post-Symbolist poets, notably Pasternak. It is subtle, delicate, and precise, and mostly concerned with the anguish of life.

VASILY ZHUKOVSKY 1783-1852. Zhukovsky was the illegitimate son of an aged country squire and a Turkish woman taken captive by one of his serfs and presented to him as a war trophy. Adopted by his godfather, he attended a school for the nobility, and afterward continued to enlarge his knowledge of history of Western languages and literatures. When Napoleon invaded Russia, he joined the army as a volunteer. He became famous as the author of sentimental ballads and patriotic poems. He was also a translator of German and English verse. He tutored royalty, and he took advantage of his high connections to intercede in behalf of erring men of letters,such as Pushkin, and to alleviate the lot of political prisoners. In his last years he translated the entire *Odyssey* and a part of the *Illiad*.

IVAN KRYLOV 1769-1844. Krylov wrote several hundred fables, many of which have become classics and popular proverbs. Written in a racy, robust, and somewhat archaic vernacular, they satirize incompetence, pretentiousness, and other vices from the standpoint of shrews common sense.

LESSON PLAN 6

TOPIC: RUSSIAN SERFDOM VS. U.S. SLAVERY

OBJECTIVE: Students will write individual essays incorporating a half dozen points of comparison of Russian serfdom and U.S. slavery.

MOTIVATION: Students will enhance their appreciation of history by observing similarities and differences between nations, institutions, etc. The comparative type essay will be used frequently as they continue their academic careers. Student essays will be graded and are due at the next class session.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Teacher asks, "Did slavery exist as late as the 19th century outside of the U.S.?"
2. Teacher states, "As feudalism receded in Western Europe following the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution, it became stronger in Eastern Europe, especially Russia."
3. Teacher states teaching objective (See above.)
4. With help of students, list several areas of comparison on the blackboard. (Possibilities: origin, legality, conditions, chronology, emancipation, results.)
5. Divide class into groups and assign each group on area of comparison.
6. Teacher summarizes and, for closure, draws a vertical line with "Russia" on the left and "U.S." on the right. Students think of multiple comparisons in preparation for writing essay for homework.

EVALUATION: Grade homework

APPLICATION: Have students list other possible areas of comparison between Russian and U.S history.

Submitted by Tom Bergeron, Mary Stebbins, Dick Wilkinson

LESSON PLAN 7

TOPIC: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA BETWEEN 1861 AND 1917

OBJECTIVE: Students will understand the obstacles to the transformation of Russian society from autocracy to a participatory form of government.

MOVIVATION: Interest and curiosity will be aroused with personal "what if" questions relating to the relinquishing of power by certain groups (parents, teachers, school administrators) into the hands of students (see discussion below).

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Time frame: one class period
Prerequisite reading: text material on reforms and revolutionary activity of 1861, 1905, 1914, and 1917

DISCUSSION
A. What if
1. your parents left you in charge of your household for one year?
2. the administration left the government of the school up to the students?
3. your teacher allowed the students to take charge of the classroom?

B. Reevaluate answers to "A":
1. Compare serfs and students. What adjustments would each group have to make to new freedoms?
2. What effect would the actions of the emancipated(students or serfs) have on other involved?
3. What self-restraints would each group find it necessary to impose?

EVALUATION:
1. What were the effects of the reforms of Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II?
2. How did the government respond to the demands for more liberal reforms?

APPLICATION:
Implications for study of glasnost and perestroika: project results of the Soviet Union's becoming a more open and democratic society. What new responsibilities confront the people?

Submitted by Gene Moffitt, Dan Scarborough, and Dorothy Paige

LESSON PLAN 8

TOPIC: RELIGION IN TSARIST RUSSIA

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to describe the effects of religion on Tsarist Russia.

MOTIVATION: Ask the class (or put on the board before the start of the hour) "How would you feel about George Bush declaring a single state religion for the U.S., with himself as the head?"

LESSON DESIGN:

1. Using group discussion have the students collect their thoughts on the following item: What is the interaction of the church and state in the United States?
2. Collect ideas from each group and put them on the board (overhead).
3. Then use this information along with the students information from their text and teacher input to assemble a picture of the church state relations in Tsarist Russia.

   For background, keep in mind the following:
   Religion was used by the regime an an agent of social control.
   Religion was used to support and buttress the autocracy.
   Religion was secondary to the regime.

EVALUATION: Have the class discuss the effects of religion on Russia by building on the information provided.

APPLICATION: Have the class do as independent practice a brief essay on the possible effects of a state religion in the U.S.

Submitted by Monty Armstrong, Todd Mohrfeld, Bill Taylor.

LESSON PLAN 9

TOPIC: RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM

OBJECTIVES: The student will be able to:
1. Identify the various reasons why Russia is the largest nation in the world.
2. List the time periods and territorial areas of expansion from the 12th to the 20th century.
3. Compare and contrast United States and Russian reasons for expansion from the 17th to the 20th century.
4. Forecast and compare problems which occur when nations expand in territorial borders.

LEVEL: 10th Grade, World History. Time: 1-2 days.

MOTIVATION:
1. Draw a large square on the board. This square is the largest country in the world. Guess what country. Review basic features of country, include 11 time zones, compare against 4 for US. Question: How did it get so big?
2. Develop Cooperative Learning structure (see Handout 9.1), Global Studies, Cooperative Learning attached. Suggest a roundtable formation 5 to 6 groups.
3. List general reasons for territorial expansion for any country. Examples, tradition of forefathers, need for food etc.
4. Put list in categories such as resources, power, etc. Reduce categories to top seven then prioritize the list. All groups put priority list on board, obtain consensus of priority.

INFORMATION: Using the map (Handout 9.2) attached, called Territorial Expansion Of the Russian State, explain the basic reasons for Russian expansion for various time periods.

APPLICATION:
1. Develop a list of reasons why the United States expanded its borders, from students prior learning experiences, and have students compare and contrast reasons between the US expansion and Russian expansion.
2. See if generalities can be formed about the differences, such as state driven expansion vs self interest or people driven expansion, as well as similarities of expansion between the nations.
3. Using Talking Chips (Handout 9.1), what kind of problems do you think Russian expansion cause for the government and the people? List at least seven. This sets up a sponge activity for the next session.

SUMMARY: Using Cooperative Learning, Numbered Heads Together, (Handout 9.1), each group will be called upon to identify the reasons for Russian expansion and hence explain why the USSR is the world's largest nation today.

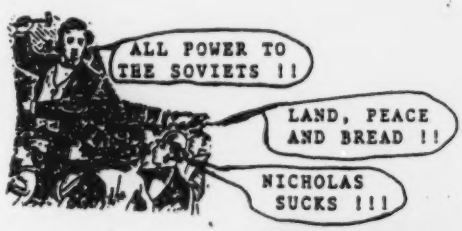
Please note:
This activity could be used as the departure point for a number of geographical, social, or political discussions about Russia in the past and today.

Submitted By Paul Bethel, Bob Atherton, Dave Tallman

HANDOUT 9.1

SIMPLE COOPERATIVE GROUP STRUCTURES

1. The INTERVIEW.
   a. First Name, Last Name.
   b. Something commonly known, not commonly known.
   c. What's in a name.
   d. Role-playing: Spartans v. Athenians.
   e. Interrogation.



2. ROUNDTABLE.
   a. One sheet, one pencil per group.
   b. List is generated in a race against time.
   c. Good for teambuilding and warmup activity.
   d. Example: Names in Russian history and fiction.

3. THINK-PAIR-SHARE.
   a. "I'm going to ask you a question and I want you to think over your answer. Don't talk to anyone, write it down, let it come from you." (THINK)
   b. Question is asked.
   c. Pause, students write ideas, pause ends when student heads start to come up from paper.
   d. "Now turn to your partner and tell him your ideas." (PAIR)
   e. After a couple of minutes: SHARE with entire class or group. (SHARE)

4. GROUP DISCUSSION.
   a. Question is asked - students discuss as a group.
   b. Well-suited for involving students in the higher levels of thinking. - thinking that leads to a variety of responses.

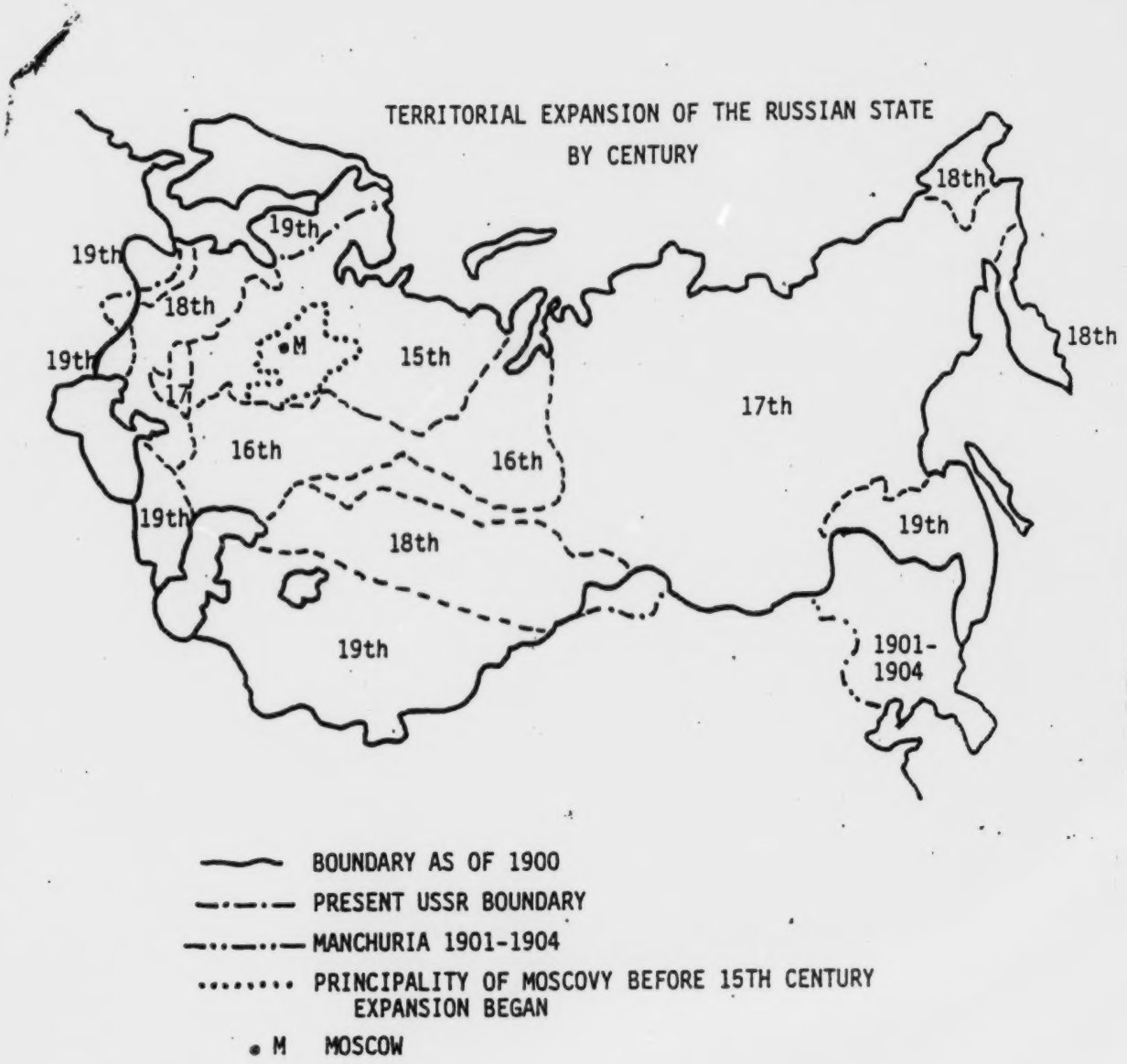
These structures (and others in Kagan's book *) can easily be adopted to a teacher's lecture. For example, the teacher first does a ROUNDTABLE, then lectures for 10 to 15 minutes, followed by a THINK-PAIR-SHARE (taking 5 to 10 minutes). The lecture continues, leading up to a thought-provoking question for GROUP DISCUSSION. The subject of the GROUP DISCUSSION is then repeated in class discussion (the entire class). The bell rings and students exit, continuing to discuss world history down the hallways. Too bad you forgot to tell them about the homework assignment....

---

* Simple structures are thoroughly explained in Spencer Kagan, COOPERATIVE LEARNING: RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS. Also good: Dee Dishon, A GUIDEBOOK FOR COOPERATIVE LEARNING.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HANDOUT 9.2


TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE
BY CENTURY
18th
19th
19th
18th
19th
M
15th
17th
18th
17th
16th
16th
19th
18th
19th
19th
1901-
1904
BOUNDARY AS OF 1900
PRESENT USSR BOUNDARY
MANCHURIA 1901-1904
PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOVY BEFORE 15TH CENTURY EXPANSION BEGAN
M MOSCOW

LESSON PLANS 10

TOPIC: THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to distinguish between the idea systems of the Liberal fathers and the Radical sons of nineteenth-century Russia.

MOTIVATION: The "generation gap" (i.e., differences in tastes and values that exist between them and their parents) will be used to motivate student interest. The teacher may use the topics of popular music and dance to briefly illustrate generational differences.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Information presented: the generation gap of nineteenth-century Russia is acted out by an argument between a father (student actor) and a son (the teacher).
   Materials: two dialogue sheets (See Handout 10.1)
2. Guided practice: on the board, in two columns, review with the students the two different idea systems. Have them restate for the class the opinions and explain how it relates to the struggle for change in nineteenth-century Russia.
3. Independent practice and evaluation (homework): students will write a short, one-page essay summarizing in one paragraph the opinions of the fathers, in another the opinions of the sons, and in another their own view.

English proficient students: for their homework they may be provided with a guide sheet that includes the father and son dialogue or they may be provide whole sections of *Fathers and Sons* to work with.
Limited English Proficient students: for their homework they may be provided with a guide sheet that includes the father and son dialogue or a paraphrased version of it.

TIME FRAME: One class period

MATERIALS: A copy of Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*; a class set of father and son dialogue sheets or an alternative reading.

NEXT LESSON: The next lesson should deal with how nineteenth-century Russia struggled with change, and the paths that change took.

Submitted by: Anthony Armendariz, Jean-Paul Martel, Bill Richardson

HANDOUT 10.1

FORMING A DIALOGUE SHEET

Fathers
Liberal: slow change

1. Economic issues:
for serfdom (almost slave owners),
pp.38 and 44.

2. Government issues:
Accept authority, p.38

3 Education issues:
Accept authority and have
principles, p.38

4. Religious issues:
Belief in religion

5. Social issues:
belief in marriage and romance
belief in existence of ideal mate

6. Psychological/personality issues:
value on emotional expression

Sons
Radical\Nihilist: rapid change

against serfdom and have sense of moral
superiority because of it

questions authority, p.17

question authority, p.17
critical, scientific method

no belief in religion, p.106

no belief in marriage or romance

value on emotional control,
rationality over emotion

LESSON PLAN 11

TOPIC: REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION IN RUSSIA (to 1905)

LEVEL AND TIME: Tenth Grade World History; two days

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will know the major groups of the Russian revolutionary movement of the 19th century, and their programs.
2. Students will know the reasons why so many different political groups came into being in Russia.

MOTIVATION: Ask students to write down the biggest complaint they have against their parents, or the biggest change they would like their parents to make.

As a class, share some of the ideas or suggestions. Discuss how parents might respond. Teacher will ask a rhetorical question for students to think about: "How would you react if parents refused to even consider your suggestions?"

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. **Information**: Lecture on how the rigidity of Russia's autocracy stifled dissent and change in the 19th century. Point out serious problems of Russia, but that solutions could only come from the top. (Great Reforms, e.g.) Note desire by Czars to be paternal figures.
2. **Group work**: In groups of 4-5, students will use Think-Pair—Share (see Handout 9.1) in answering the question: "What could have been done by Russians to make changes?" (T-P-S: Students individually write down answer; then whole group exchanges answers). Groups will come to a consensus on what is the best way to make changes in such a system as Czarist Russia. Encourage groups to develop a name, slogans, etc. When they are done, or nearly so, inform them that they have all broken the law and are subject to arrest and exile to Siberia.
   Approximate end of first day's activities. Upon resumption of class day 2, either finish group work, or reintroduce topic and proceed.
3. **Information**: Lecture on the Russian Revolutionary Movement from 1825-1905. Emphasize generational change, connections between groups, and use of slogan "What Is To Be Done?"
4. **Group work**: Form groups of previous day. Have groups compare their groups with actual Russian groups. Each group will then adopt the name and program of a Russian group, (teacher assures that no duplication occurs). Using notes from previous lecture, each group will review the program of the group they have chosen, and become familiar with it. Teacher circulates and enhances information.

SUMMARY/EVALUATION: A representative from each group will state each group's program and plan for change within Russia. Groups will present in chronological order (teacher ensures this) and the connections/changes with other groups will be apparent. The question "What Is To Be Done?" will always be kept in mind. Groups will be graded on presentation.

APPLICATION: For homework, answer this question with a short essay: "Why did there develop so many groups of revolutionaries in 19th century Russia, and why did none of them succeed in their goals, by 1905?"

Submitted by Paul Bethel

LESSON PLAN 12

TOPIC: THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION IN RUSSIAN HISTORY

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will be able to identify the social, economic, and political causes for the revolutionary tradition in Russia.
2. Students will be able to identify the social class(es) from which Russian revolutionaries came from.

MOTIVATION: The teacher will ask the students, who or what do they feel represents the greatest threat to the established social, economic, and political system. The teacher will propose that students represent the greatest threat to the system, and will use for examples the present day situations in China, South Korea, Latin America, and pre-1917 Russia.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Preparation: The students will have read the relevant sections in their textbook on the revolutionary tradition in Russia.
2. The teacher will briefly discuss the social, economic, and political conditions for and causes of the Russian revolutionary tradition, and the social class(es) form which Russian revolutionaries came from.
3. The teacher will pass out copies of excerpts form I. Turgenev's book *Fathers and Sons* (Handout 12.2), and a question sheet to each student. (Handout 12.1)
4. The students will read the excerpts from *Fathers and Sons*, and use the information contained in the reading to answer the questions on the question sheet.

SUMMARY: The students will complete the summary question on their question sheet. The teacher will then ask students to discuss their answers and opinions, and then tie it in with the historical material presented in the textbook and lecture.

APPLICATION: The students are to write a paragraph or two supporting their opinion concerning the following proposition—similar social, economic, and political situations and problems in the Soviet Union of today have given rise to a new group of Russian revolutionaries, Mikhail Gorbachev being one of them.

Submitted by Jean-Paul Martel

HANDOUT 12.1

1. On pages 8 and 9 there is a description of the estate which belongs to Arkady's father. How would you describe the economic conditions there? Give examples.

2. At the end of the first paragraph on page 9, Arkady states that "reforms are absolutely necessary." Why do you think he says this?

3. Both Arkady and Bozarov are students. As you have read, Arkady comes from a family of financially poor lesser nobility who own a not very large estate. Page 16 mentions the social background of Bazarov's family. What did Bazarov's father do for a living, and do you feel Bazarov comes form a social class which is lower than Arkady's?

4. On page 17, Arkady explains to his father and uncle the political beliefs of Bazarov. Briefly describe them, and write what your opinion of them is.

5. On pages 40 and 41 we find ourselves in the middle of a political argument between Bazarov and Arkady on one side, and Arkady's father (Nikolai) and uncle (Pavel) on the other. Why is Bazarov so angry (what is it about Russia that disturbs him)? And how does Arkady propose to change things?

6. Page 97 describes the beliefs and attitudes of Arina Vlasyevna, the mother of Bazarov. If her beliefs and attitudes can be taken to represent the opinions fo the average Russian at that time, how is this a reflection of Russian society (i.e., would you consider Russian society as backward, superstitious, and stratified) Give examples to support your answer.

7. Summary question: What is your opinion of the social, economic, and political condition of Russia as presented in the book *Fathers and Sons*? How would you describe the educational and social background of Bazarov and Arkady? Do you sense that there is a direct relation between the social, economic, and political condition of Russia, the educational and social background of Bazarov and Arkady, and their political beliefs and urge for action? Explain.

HANDOUT 12.2

Fathers and Sons

Pages 8-9

"Here are our fields at last," he said, after a long silence.
"And that in front is our forest, isn't it?" asked Arkady.
"Yes. Only I have sold the timber. This year they will cut it down."
"Why did you sell it?"
"The money was needed; besides, that land is to go to the peasants."
"Who don't pay you their quitrent?"
"That's their affair; besides, they will pay it some day."
"I am sorry about the forest," observed Arkady, and he began to look about him.

The country through which they were driving could not be called picturesque. Fields upon fields stretched all along to the very horizon, now sloping gently upwards, then dropping down again; here and there groves were to be seen, and winking ravines, planted with low, scanty bushes, recalling vividly the representation of them on the old-fashioned maps of Catherine's time. They came upon little streams too with hollow banks; and tiny lakes with narrow dykes; and little villages, with low hovels under dark and often tumble-down thatch roofs, and slanting barns with walls woven of brushwood and gaping doorways beside neglected threshing-floors; and churches, some brick-built, with stucco peeling off in patches, others wooden, with crosses fallen askew, and overgrown graveyards. Slowly Arkady's heart sank. To complete the picture, the peasants they met were all in tatters and on the sorriest little nags; the willows, with their trunks stripped of bark, and broken branches, stood like ragged beggars along the roadside;lean and shaggy cows looking pinched by hunger, were greedily tearing at the grass along the ditches. They looked as though they had just been snatched out of the murderous clutches of some threatening monster; and the piteous state of the weak, starved beasts in the midst of the lovely spring day, called up, like a white phantom, the endless, comfortless winter, with its storms, and frosts, and snows.

"No," thought Arkady, "this is not rich land; it does not impress one by prosperity or industriousness; it can't, it can't go on like this, reforms are absolutely necessary...but how is one to carry them out, how is one to begin?"

Pages 16 and 17

"Where's your new friend?" he asked Arkady.
"He's not in the house; he usually gets up early and goes off somewhere The main thing is, we mustn't pay any attention to him; he doesn't like ceremony."
"Yes, that's obvious." Pavel Petrovich began deliberately spreading butter on his bread. "Is he going to stay long with us?"
"Perhaps. He came here on the way to his father's."
"And where does his father live?"
"In our province, sixty-five miles from here. He has a small property there. He was formerly an army doctor."
"Tut, tut, tut! To be sure, I kept asking myself, 'Where have I heard that name, Bazarov?' Nikolai, do you remember in our father's division there was a surgeon Bazarov?"
"I believe there was."
"Yes, yes, to be sure. So that surgeon was his father. Hm!"
Pavel Petrovich twitched his moustaches. "Well, and what precisely is Mr. Bazarov himself?" Arkady smiled.
"Would you like me, uncle, to tell you what he really is?"
"If you will be so good, nephew."
"He's a nihilist."
"How?" inquired Nikolai Petrovich, while Pavel Petrovich lifted a knife in the air with a small piece of butter on it's tip, and remained motionless.
"He's a nihilist," repeated Arkady.
"A nihilist," said Nikolai Petrovich. "That's from the Latin, *nihil nothing* as far as I can judge; the word must mean a man who...who accepts nothing?"

"Say, 'who respects nothing,'" put in Pavel Petrovich, and he set to work on the butter again.
"Who regards everything from the critical point of view," observed Arkady.
"Isn't that just the same thing?" inquired Pavel Petrovich.
"No, it's not the same thing. A nihilist is a man who does not bow down before any authority, who does not take any principle on faith, whatever reverence that principle may be enshrined in."
"Well, and is that good?" interrupted Pavel Petrovich.
"That depends, uncle. Some people it will do good to, but some people will suffer for it."
"Indeed. Well, I see it's not in our line. We are old-fashioned people; we imagine that without *principes*, (Pavel Petrovich pronounced the word softly, in the French way; Arkady, on the other hand, pronounced it harshly, "*pryntsip*," emphasizing the first syllable), without *principes* taken as you say on faith, there's no taking a step, no breathing. *Vous avez change tout cela*. God give you good health and the rank of a general, while we will be content to look on and admire, worthy...what was it?"
Nihilist, "Arkady said, speaking very distinctly.
"Yes. There used to be Hegelists, and now there are nihilists. We shall see how you will exist in a void, in a vacuum; and now please ring, brother Nikolai Petrovich; it's time I had my cocoa."

Pages 40 and 41

"A foreign word again!" broke in Bazarov. He was beginning to feel angry, and his face assumed a peculiar coarse coppery hue.
"In the first place, we advocate nothing; that's not our way..."
"What do you do, then?"
"I'll tell you what we do. Formerly, not long ago, we used to say that our officials took bribes, that we had no roads, no commerce, no real justice..."
"Well yes, yes, you are accusers; - that's what it's called, I think. I too agree with many of your denunciations, but..."
"Then we figured out that talk, perpetual talk, and nothing but talk about our social sores, was not worthwhile, that it all led to nothing but banality and doctrinairism. We saw that even our clever ones, so-called advanced people and accusers, some sort of art, unconscious creativeness, parliamentarianism, the legal profession, and the devil knows what all, while it's a question of daily bread, while we're stifling under the grossest superstition, while all our corporations come to grief simply because there
aren't enough honest men to carry them on, while the very emancipation our Government's busy upon will hardly come to any good, because peasants are glad to rob even themselves to get drunk at the pot-house."
"Yes," interposed Pavel Petrovich, "yes; you become convinced of all this, and decide not to undertake anything seriously yourselves."
"We decided not to undertake anything," repeated Bazarov grimly. He suddenly felt vexed with himself for having been so expansive before this gentleman.
"But to confine yourselves to abuse?"
"To confine ourselves to abuse."
"And that is called nihilism?"
"And that is called nihilism," Bazarov repeated again, this time with peculiar rudeness.
Pavel Petrovich puckered up his face a little. "So that's it!" he observed in a strangely composed voice. "Nihilism is to cure all our woes, and you are our heroes and saviors. But why do you abuse others, even those accusers? Don't you do as much talking as every one else?"
"Whatever faults we have, we do not err in that way," Bazarov muttered between his teeth.
"What, then? Do you act, or what? Are you preparing for action?"
Bazarov made no answer. Something like a tremor passed over Pavel Petrovich, but he at once regained control of himself.
"Hm!...Action, destruction..." he went on. "But how destroy without even knowing Why?"
"We shall destroy, because we are a force," observed Arkady. Pavel Petrovich looked at his nephew and smiled.
"Yes, a force is not to be called to account," said Arkady, drawing himself up.

Page 87

Arina Vlasyevna was a genuine Russian gentlewoman of the olden times; she ought to have lived two centuries before, in the days of old Muscovy. She was very devout and emotional, believed in fortune-telling, charms, dreams, and omens of every possible kind; she believed in the prophecies of holy fools, in house-spirits, in wood-spirits, in unlucky meetings, in the evil eye, in popular remedies, she ate specially prepared salt on Holy Thursday, and believed that the end of the world was near; she believed that if on Easter Sunday the candles did not go out during the all night mass, them there would be a good crop of buckwheat, and that a mushroom will not grow after a human eye has seen it; she believed that the devil likes to be where there is water, and that every Jew has a blood-stained spot on his breast; she was afraid of mice, of snakes, of frogs, of sparrows, of leeches, of thunder, of cold water, of drafts, of horses, of goats of red-haired people, and black cats and she regarded crickets and dogs as unclean beasts; she never ate veal, doves, crayfish, cheese, asparagus, artichokes, hares, nor water-melons, because a cut water-melon suggested the head of John the Baptist, and she could not speak of oysters without a shudder; she was fond of eating-and never went to bed at all if Vassily Ivanovich had so much as a headache; she had never read a single book except Alexis or the cottage in the forest; she wrote one, or at most two letters in a year, but knew what she was about in running the household preserving, and jam-making, though she never touched a thing with her own hands, and was generally disinclined to move from her place. Arina Vlasyevna was very kindhearted, and in her way not at all stupid. She knew that the world is divided into masters whose duty it is to command, and simple folk whose duty it is to serve them-and so she felt no repugnance to servility and prostrations to the ground; but she treated those in subjection to her kindly and gently, never let a single beggar go away empty-handed, and never spoke ill of any one, though she was fond of gossiping now and then. In her youth she had been pretty, had played the clavichord, and spoken French a little; but in the course of many years' wondering with her husband, whom she had married against her will, she had grown stout, and forgotten both music and French.

LESSON PLAN 13

TOPIC: WHAT CAUSES PEOPLE TO REVOLT AGAINST THEIR GOVERNMENT?

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Identify the factors that contribute to revolution.
2. Compare those factors with the causes of the Russian Revolution.

MOTIVATION AND LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Simulations are excellent devices to help students gain an empathetic understanding of issues in history. Two commercially produced simulations are particularly useful in helping students to understand what motivated the Russian people to revolt in 1905 and again in 1917.

Czar Power offers a case study of autocracy using the reign of Alexander II as an example. Students assume the roles of czar, members of the nobility, clergy, the military merchants, craftsmen, peasants, and serfs. Student participants must try to solve specific problems without upsetting the upper classes or inciting the lower classes to revolution.

Star Power, developed by R. Garry Shirts, offers a more general simulation on how it feels to be disenfranchised and oppressed. A low-mobility, three-tiered society is created through the unequal distribution of chips. The group with the chips of the highest value then makes the rules for the rest of the game, often with the result of breeding dissatisfaction among students with chips of lesser value. The experience offers useful lessons on the abuse of power.

SUMMARY: At the completion of the simulation, the teacher can ask how the issues raised during the game relate to actual conditions in Russia.

APPLICATION: Based on the simulation, students will discuss whether conditions are ripe for revolution among ethnic minorities in the USSR today.

Submitted by Jay Green, Gloria Robles, Larry Smith, Fred Steeby

LESSON PLAN 14

TOPIC: THE 1905 REVOLUTION

LESSON TIME: One class period, one homework

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will identify the leading causes of the 1905 Revolution.
2. Students will be able to identify the major results of the Revolution.

MOTIVATION: Students shall have read about the 19th century Czarist period of Russian history prior to this lesson. At the beginning of class students will be place in groups of four to participate in a round-table activity. They will have five minutes to list all of the causes of the 1905 Revolution. Thereafter, each round-table group would be required to share their lists with the entire class.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Round-table discussion. See MOTIVATION
2. Students will read the poem "Message to Siberia" (Handout 14.1). Students will be presented questions regarding Siberia for class discussion. The following questions which are pertinent to the reading of "Message to Siberia" will be discussed:
   a. What is a Siberian mine?
   b. What is meant by "bitter toil"?
   c. Why would you have the courage to live in Siberia?
   d. What are galley beds?
   e. What symbolism is present in the phrase "heavy-hanging chains"?
3. Assign class members to groups of four giving each group one stanza of "Message to Siberia:. Students will perform the poem in a Greek Chorus style reading.
4. The poem will be discussed in terms of the 1905 Revolution. It will be stressed that the poem served as a literary beacon for the shape of things to come in Russia. Particular emphasis will be placed on the fact that participants of the 1905 revolt were sent to Siberia as prisoners.

EVALUATION: Have students write a poem, description, or journalist report regarding the Bloody Sunday uprising.

APPLICATION: Students will compare the 1905 Revolution with the June 4th Chinese government attack on university students. The results of the 1905 Revolution will be compared with possible outcomes that could result from the Chinese uprising.

Submitted by Graham Pink, Betty Cramer, Donna Morel

HANDOUT 14.1

Message to Siberia
by
Alexander Pushkin

Deep in the Siberian mine,
Keep your patience proud;
The bitter toil shall not be lost,
The rebel thought unbowed.

The sister of misfortune, Hope,
In the under-darkness dumb
Speaks joyful courage to your heart:
The day desired will come.

And love and friendship pour to you
Across the darkened doors,
Even as round your galley-beds
My free music pours

The heavy-hanging chains will fall,
The wall will crumble at a word;
And Freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword.

[1827] 1874

LESSON PLAN 15

TOPIC: THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. List five major grievances of the Russian people in 1905;
2. Indentify two revolutionary acts committed against the Russian government in 1905;
3. Identify two solutions that Czar Nicholas II considered in dealing with the revolutionaries; and
4. Explain why Nicholas decided to issue the October Manifesto.

MOTIVATION: Teacher will refer to public demonstrations in Tianamen Square in Peking and by Germans protesting against the East German government in the fall of 1989. How do you think the government should react to such demonstrations?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Distribute "Program of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets), 1905" (Handout 15.1)
   a. Based on the demands put forth by the Cadets in this document, what can you infer about the type of government that ruled Russia before 1905?
   b. Compare and contrast those demands with the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution. In what ways are they similar? What rights did the Cadets demand that are not part of our Bill of Rights?
2. In response to the uprising of 1905, Czar Nicholas II decided to issue the October Manifesto, which granted full civil rights and promised a popularly elected parliament called a Duma. Distribute "A Letter From Czar Nicholas II to his Mother" (Handout 15.2) in which he explains why he decided to sign the October Manifesto.
   a. What revolutionary acts were the Russian people committing in 1905?
   b. What two solutions did the Czar consider?
   c. Why did he choose to issue the October Manifesto?
   d. Based on this document, what adjectives would you use to describe Nicholas II?

SUMMARY: Do you agree with the decision taken by Nicholas II? Why? Why not?

APPLICATION: Compare the situation in Russia in 1905 with the situation in East Germany in 1989. What would you do if you were head of a government that the people were protesting against?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 15.1

Program of the Russian Constitutional
Democratic Party (Cadet), 1905

Basic Rights of Citizens

1. All Russian citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, or nationality, are equal before the law.
2. Every citizen is guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion. No persecution for religious beliefs or convictions, or for change or refusal to accept religious indoctrination, can be allowed.
3. Anyone who wishes to express his thoughts orally or in writing has the right to publish and spread them through printing or any other media. Censorship, both general and special, regardless of its name, must be abolished and cannot be reinstituted.
4. All Russian citizens have the right to organize public or private meetings, in dwellings as well as in the open air, to examine any problem they wish.
5. All Russian citizens have the right to organize unions or societies without needing permission for it.
6. The right to petition is granted to every citizen as well as to all groups, unions, gatherings, and so forth.
7. The person and home of every individual should be inviolable. Entering of a private dwelling, search, seizure, and opening of private correspondence, are allowed only in cases permitted by law or on order of the court. Any individual detained in cities or places where courts are located should be freed with twenty-four hours; in other localities of the Empire not later than three days, or be brought before the court. Any detention undertaken illegally, or without proper grounds, gives a detained person the right to be compensated by the state for losses suffered.
8. No one can be subjected to persecution or punishment except on the basis of law by court authorities in a legally constituted court. No extraordinary courts are allowed.
9. Every citizen has freedom of movement and travel abroad. The passport system is abolished.
10. All above mentioned rights of citizens must be incorporated into the Constitution of the Russian Empire and be guaranteed by courts.
11. The Constitution of the Russian Empire should guarantee all the minorities inhabiting the Empire, in addition to full civil and political equality enjoyed by all citizens, the right of cultural self-determination, namely: full freedom of usage of various languages and dialects in public, the freedom to found and maintain educational institutions and meetings of all sorts having as their aim the preservation and development of language, literature and culture of every nationality.
12. Russian language should be the official language of central administration, army, and fleet. The use of local languages alongside the official language in state and public institutions and educational establishments supported by the state or organs of local government is determined by general and local laws, and within their competence by the institutions concerned. The population of each locality should be guaranteed education in the native language in elementary schools, and possibly in subsequent education.
13. The constitutional system of the Russian state will be determined by the constitution.
14. People's representatives are elected by a general, equal, direct and secret ballot, irrespective of their religion, nationality or sex.

The party allows within its midst a difference of opinion on the question of national representation, consisting of one or two chambers in which case the second chamber should consist of representatives of the local organs of self-government, organized on the basis of a general vote and spread throughout all of Russia.

15. National representation participates in the realization of legislative power, in the determination of government revenues and expenditures, and in control of the legality and expedience of actions of higher and lower organs of administration.
16. No decision, decree, *ukaz*, order or similar act not based on the legislative measure of national representation, regardless of its name or place of origin, can have the force of law.
17. A government inventory, which should include all revenues and expenditures of the state, should be established by law every year. No taxes, dues, and collections for the state, as well as state loans, can be established other than by legislation.
18. Members of national representative assemblies should have the right of legislative initiative.
19. Ministers are responsible to the representatives of the national assembly, and the latter have the right of questioning and interpellation.

HANDOUT 15.2

A Letter From Czar Nicholas II to his Mother
(1905)

I do not know how to begin this letter.

It makes one sick to read the news—there's nothing but reports of strikes in the schools, the drugstores, etc., and murders of the police, Cossacks and soldiers. The Ministers instead of acting with decisiveness get together and cackle like a lot of chickens. . . .

During these terrible days I saw Witte [finance expert] constantly, our conversations began in the morning and finished in the evening towards dark. It was necessary to choose between two solutions: to find an energetic military man and crush the rebellion with every force. . . .That would cost rivers of blood and in the end we would be just where we started—that is to say, the authority of our power would have been demonstrated but the result would be the same and progressive reforms could not have been carried out.

The other solution—to give to the people their civil rights, freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and association and inviolability of person and to take on a obligation that all laws would be approved by the Duma—that is, in a word, a constitution. Witte warmly defended this solution, realizing very well its risks but also that it is actually the only possibility. . . . We discussed it for two days and in the end after a prayer I signed it. Dear mother, you cannot imagine the anguish this has cost me. I could not in a telegram explain all the circumstances which brought me to this terrible decision which nevertheless I took in full consciousness. . . .

We find ourselves in the midst of a revolution and the disorganization of the whole administration of the country is compete: this is the chief peril. . . .

I know that you pray for your poor Nicky. May Christ be with you. God will save and calm Russia. With all my heart.

Nicky

(Excerpt from *Black Night, White Snow* by Harrison E. Salisbury, Copyright 1977 by Harrison E. Salisbury)

LESSON PLAN 16

TOPIC: THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to list the causes of the November 1917 Revolution in Russia and the method by which the Bolsheviks seized power.

MOTIVATION: Lead the class in a discussion of how to plan a revolution in their school. Stress the conditions that would precipitate such an action (e.g.: dissatisfaction, mistreatment, poor conditions, etc.); and how the revolution could be accomplished (e.g.: the importance of seizing communication centers, offices, etc.).

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will receive a copy of Lenin's letter to Central Committee and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the Bolshevik Party and the Proclamation of the Second Congress of Soviets. (Handouts 16.1 and 16.2)
2. In small groups students should answer the following question after reading the Proclamation of the Second Congress of Soviets: Based on the action which the new Bolshevik government proposes, what can you surmise as the causes of the revolution?
3. Teacher will list the causes of the November revolution on the chalkboard, based on the responses of the groups.
4. In small groups students should answer the following question after reading Lenin's letter to the Central Committee and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the Bolshevik Party: How does Lenin propose to seize power from the Provisional government?
5. Teacher will list the steps taken by the Bolsheviks to seize power on the chalkboard, based on the responses of the groups.
6. Teacher will give a brief lecture on the causes of the Bolshevik revolution and how the Bolsheviks seized power.

SUMMARY:
List the causes of the November 1917 Revolution. Describe how the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917.

APPLICATION:
What conditions would have to be present in the Soviet Union today in order to spark another revolution? How might that revolution be different from the one in 1917?

Submitted by Todd Mohrfeld

HANDOUT 16.1

From Lenin's letter to the Central Committee
and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the R.S.D.W.P.(B)
September 29, 1917

The Bolsheviks are now guaranteed the success of the insurrection: (1) we can (if we do not "wait" for the Soviet Congress) launch a surprise attack from three points- from Petrograd, from Moscow and from the Baltic fleet; (2) we have slogans that guarantee us support - down with the government that is suppressing the revolt to the peasants against the landowners! (3) we have a majority in the country; (4) the disorganization among the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries is complete; (5) we are technically in a position to take power in Moscow (where the start might even be made, so as to catch the enemy unawares); (6) we have thousands of armed workers and soldiers in Petrograd who could at once seize the Winter Palace, the General Staff building, the telephone exchange and the large printing presses. Nothing will be able to drive us out, while agitational work in the army will be such as to make it impossible to combat this government of peace, of land for the peasants, and so forth.

If we were to attack at once, suddenly, from three points, Petrograd, Moscow and the Baltic fleet, the chances are a hundred to one that we would succeed with smaller sacrifices than on July 3-5, because the troops will not advance against a government of peace. Even though Kerensky already had "loyal" cavalry, etc., in Petrograd, if we were to attack from two sides, he would be compelled to surrender since we enjoy the sympathy of the army.

HANDOUT 16.2

From the Proclamation to the Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants
of the
Second All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies
October 25, 1917.

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The majority of the members of the Provisional Government have already been arrested.

The Soviet government will proposed an immediate democratic peace to all the nations and an immediate armistice on all fronts. It will secure the transfer of the land of the landlords, of the crown and monasteries to the peasants' committees without compensation; it will protect the rights of the soldiers by introducing complete democracy in the army; it will establish worker's control over production; it will ensure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the time appointed; it will see to it that bread is supplied to the cities and prime necessities to the villages; it will guarantee all the nations inhabiting Russia the genuine right of self-determination.

The Congress decrees: all power in the localities shall pass to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, which must guarantee genuine revolutionary order.

LESSON PLAN 17

TOPIC: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE OCTOBER 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

OBJECTIVE: Students will list continuities and differences between the Soviet Union and Imperial Russia.

MOTIVATION: Competitive game within lesson based on the co-operative learning exercise, "Round Table." Which group(s) can come up with the most similarities? The most differences?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will have read background material on Imperial and Soviet Russia.
2. Teacher will ask students in which ways their lives are the same as last year, as well as how it is now different from last year.
3. Teacher gives examples (religion, leadership, class structure, economic change, land ownership, etc.) showing continuity and change from other Revolutions, perhaps French or American.
4. In groups, students will have two minutes to list the similarities of Imperial and Post-Revolutionary Russia and two minutes to list the differences.
5. Two members of each group move to another group, exchange ideas, then return to original group to report and share information.

SUMMARY:
Disband groups and re-assemble class for teacher led summary and discussion.

APPLICATION:
Is Russia currently undergoing another revolution?

Submitted by Tom Bergeron, Mary Stebbins, Richard Wilkinson

LESSON PLAN 18

TOPIC: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF MARCH 1917 (2-Day lesson)

OBJECTIVE: Students will learn what conditions led to the March 1917 Revolution in Russia

MOTIVATION: What would make you revolt against your government?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. In groups of four students, each group creates one list of conditions and causes that led to the Russian Revolution of March, 1917.
2. Students are to prioritize the list, and to identify the leading cause, using their notes and classroom text. The list is then transferred to butcher paper. Each group's list is displayed.
3. As a spokesman from each group reads the group's list, there is an informal discussion between the teacher and students of these conditions and causes.

This sets up the next day's lesson. Videos and other visuals, as well as the teacher's own mini-lecture, could be used at the beginning of this lesson so that the students have some additional background on this topic.

APPLICATION: (The teacher has written the following occupations on slips of paper: factory worker, peasant, soldier, landowner, writer, gentry woman, peasant woman—one occupation per slip). In groups of two, write a letter of complaint to Tsar Nicholas II, from the point of view of the person whose occupation you draw.

The letters are to be addressed:
TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, TSAR NICHOLAS II:

1. The letters are to describe the conditions of early 1917 that are appropriate to the individual professions, and ask for the Tsar's help. Instruct the students to write with passion.
2. After writing the letters, students combine in groups that share the same profession, and select the best letter.
3. A spokesperson from each group reads the best letter to the Tsar (the teacher). Letters are collected and may be displayed.

EVALUATION:
As homework, students write an individual essay describing the causes of the March 1917 Russian Revolution.

LESSON PLAN 19

TOPIC: COMPARISON OF THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS

OBJECTIVE: Students will discover similarities and differences between the two revolutions.

MOTIVATION: Cooperative learning activities.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Before class, students should read the appropriate pages on the French and Russian Revolutions.
2. In small groups, students compile a list of the causes of the French Revolution using their text and notes.
3. Have groups share their lists-compiling a list on chalkboard.
4. In small groups, students complete a list of the causes of the Russian Revolution using the appropriate reading. Students also list similarities/differences between the two revolutions.
5. Have groups share their lists-compiling a list of causes, differences and similarities on the chalkboard.
6. Brief lecture: Origins of the Russian Revolution.

SUMMARY/APPLICATION:
Have students write an essay (which could be turned in or used for further group work next session) on the following topic: "Which do you think is the most important cause(s) of the Russian and French Revolutions?"

Submitted by Monty Armstrong, Todd Mohrfeld, Bill Taylor

LESSON PLAN 20

TOPIC: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF MARCH 1917

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to distinguish between two interpretations of the March 1917 Russian Revolution.

MOTIVATION: Relate the story of the six blind men and the elephant. The blind man who only felt the elephant's ear likened the beast to a giant leaf; the blind man who felt the leg of the elephant concluded the animal was like a tree, etc. Why did each blind man have a contrasting impression of the elephant?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. The teacher will tell students that historians are often confronted with conflicting accounts of the same event. They must then decide the validity of each source of information.
2. Distribute "Two Accounts of the March 1917 Revolution" (Handout 20.1)
   a. On what issues are the two accounts in agreement?
   b. In what ways do these accounts disagree?
   c. How can you account for this disagreement?
   d. Which account should a student of history believe, Account A or Account B?
   e. How would the following questions help in determining which account is most accurate: What is the background of each author? When was each account written? What were the political beliefs of each author?

SUMMARY How did the March 1917 revolution in Russia come about?

APPLICATION: Read two or more sources on the Vietnam War. Do these sources of information agree, or do they offer conflicting interpretations?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 20.1

Two Accounts of the March 1917 Revolution

Account A

The collapse of the czarist government in March 1917 was one of the most leaderless, spontaneous revolutions of all time. No one realized that the strikes and bread riots would lead to the mutiny of the soldiers and the overthrow of the government. The socialist revolutionary Zenzinov declared, "The Revolution was a great and joyous surprise for us." Two features of the revolution strike the observer: the lack of planned leadership and the action of the soldiers independently of their officers. The great mass of mutinous soldiers scarcely realized what they were doing and were uncertain whether in the end they would be treated as heroes or criminals.

(Abridged from *The Russian Revolution 1917-21*, by William Henry Chamberlin. New York: Macmillan, 1935.)

Account B

The workers who rebelled in March 1917 did not fall out of the sky: they had to be educated. Masses of workers had experienced the 1905 revolt and were capable of revolutionary thought. Also, some soldiers had been influenced by revolutionary propaganda. In every factory and company of soldiers, revolutionary thought was in progress. Within the working masses, there was a growing hatred for the rulers. Who led the revolution? We can answer definitely: workers educated for the most part by the party of Lenin.

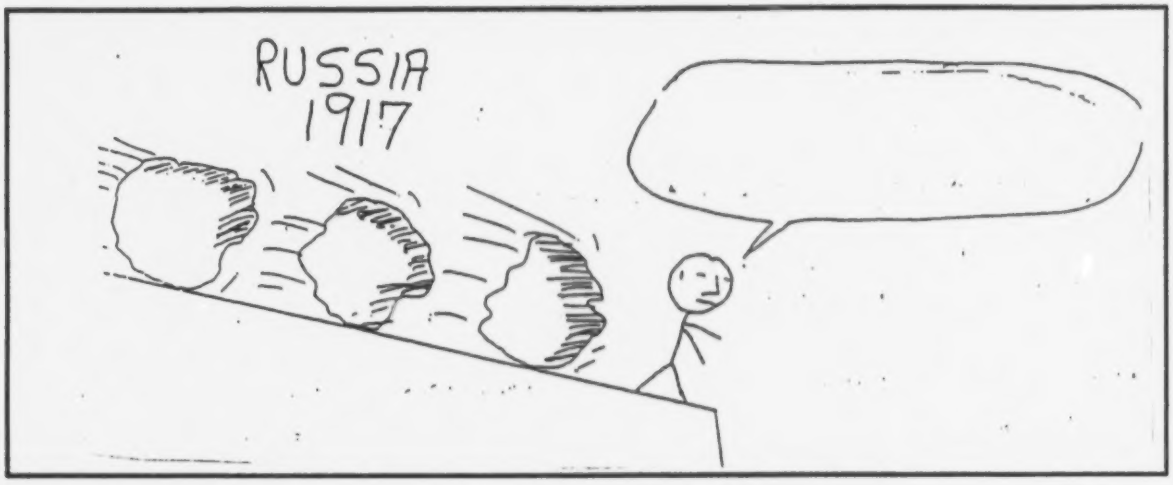
(Adapted from *The History of the Russian Revolution*, by Leon Trotsky. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.)

LESSON 21

TOPIC: CAUSES OF THE MARCH 1917 REVOLUTION

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to identify the political economic, and military causes of the Russian Revolution of March 1917.

MOTIVATION: In the cartoon below, have students compose a statement for the stick figure, and have them label the three boulders depicted in the cartoon.



LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Teacher will have students read "The Durnovo Memorandum" (Handout 21.1), and ask the following questions:

1. List "the many factors against us" as mentioned by Durnovo in the memorandum.
2. Why does Durnovo believe "an especially favorable soil for upheaval is found in Russia"?
3. compare Durnovo's predictions with the actual events in Russia in March and November 1917. Was he accurate?
4. Do you think Peter Durnovo was a good advisor to the tsar? Why? Why not?
5. How do you think Nicholas II should have reacted to this memorandum?

SUMMARY: Referring to the cartoon above, is there any way the stick figure can avoid being crushed by the boulders? Explain.

APPLICATION: If the cartoon is relabeled "Russia 1989," what would the boulders represent?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 21.1

The Durnovo Memorandum (February 1914)

In early 1914 Peter N. Durnovo (1844-1915) was concluding a long career as a tsarist functionary, thirty-five years of which were spent in leading posts in the ministries of Justice and Interior. The latter post put him in charge of the tsarist security forces, perhaps the most adept branch of the autocratic regime. Durnovo was a profound conservative, some would say reactionary, but he was a keen observer of Russia's domestic circumstances as well as of Russia's place in the world. The prospect of an outbreak of war in Europe which would see Russian involvement on the side of England and France concerned Durnovo greatly. In his memorandum to Tsar Nicholas II, February 1914, Durnovo outlined his fears for Russia's future. They proved to be prophetic.

The main burden of the war will undoubtedly fall on us, since England is hardly capable of taking a considerable part in a continental war, while France, poor in manpower, will probably adhere to strictly defensive tactics in view of the enormous losses by which war will be attended under present conditions of military technique. The part of battering-ram, making a breach in the very thick of the German defense, will be ours, with many factors against us to which we shall have to devote great effort and attention. . . . Are we prepared for so stubborn a war as the future war of the European nations will undoubtedly become? This question we must answer, without evasion, in the negative. . . .

For there can be no doubt that the war will necessitate expenditures which are beyond Russia's limited financial means. We shall have to obtain credit from allied and neutral countries, but this will not be granted gratuitously. As to what will happen if the war should end disastrously for us, I do not wish to discuss now. The financial and economic consequences of defeat can be neither calculated nor foreseen, and will undoubtedly spell the total ruin of our entire national economy.

. . .An especially favorable soil for social upheavals is found in Russia, where the masses undoubtedly profess, unconsciously, the principles of socialism. In spite of the spirit of antagonism to the Government in Russian society, as unconscious as the socialism of the broad masses of the people, a political revolution is not possible in Russia and any revolutionary movement must degenerate into a socialist movement. The opponents of the Government have no popular support. The people see no difference between a government official and an intellectual. The Russian masses, whether workmen or peasants, are not looking for political rights, which they neither want nor comprehend.

The peasant dreams of obtaining a gratuitous share of somebody else's land; the workman, of getting hold of the entire capital and profits of the manufacturer. Beyond this, they have no aspirations. If these slogans are scattered far and wide among the populace, and the Government permits agitation along these lines, Russia will be flung into anarchy, such as she suffered in the ever-memorable period of troubles in 1905-6. War with Germany would create exceptionally favorable conditions for such agitation. As already stated, this war is pregnant with enormous difficulties for us and cannot turn out to be a mere triumphal march to Berlin. Both military disasters—partial ones, let us hope—and all kinds of shortcomings in our supply are inevitable. In the excessive nervousness and spirit of opposition of our society, these events will be given an exaggerated importance, and all the blame will be laid on the Government. . . .

In the legislative institutions a bitter campaign against the Government will begin, followed by revolutionary agitations throughout the country, with socialist slogans, capable of arousing and rallying the masses, beginning with the division of the land and succeeded by a division of all valuables and property. The defeated army, having lost its most dependable men, and carried away by the tide of primitive peasant desire for land, will find itself too demoralized to serve as a bulwark of law and order. The legislative institutions and the intellectual opposition parties, lacking any real authority in the eyes of the people, will be powerless to stem the popular tide, aroused by themselves, and Russia will be flung into hopeless anarchy. . . .

(From *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917*, ed. F.A. Golder, copyright Appelton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1927.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LESSON PLAN 22

TOPIC: CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA AFTER THE OCTOBER 1917 REVOLUTION

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will be able to identify the political, social, and economic consequences of the Russian Revolution.
2. Students will be able to distinguish between "fact" and "value judgment" using primary sources.

MOTIVATION:
Students will answer the following questions written on the chalkboard:
1. How is the weather today?
2. Why is education important?
3. Why is history important?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Teachers will discuss the difference between facts and value judgments incorporating the answers from the three questions above. In analyzing the students' answers, they will then label each one as "fact" or "value judgment".
2. Discuss the difference between a "fact" and a "value judgment" with the students.
   —A fact is something that has been objectively proven or for which reliable evidence could be found.
   —A value judgment is an opinion about the worth of something.
   Value judgments are often indicated by the adjectives and adverbs used to describe a subject.
3. Give the students the primary source entitled "Conditions in Petrograd". (Handout 22.1) They will read the section labeled "Famine" and determine whether each sentence is a "fact" or a "value judgment".
4. Read a section of "The Cave" to the students. The setting for "The Cave," a short story by Evgeni Zamyatin, is St. Petersburg in the aftermath of revolution and civil war. The author paints the desolate capital as though it were the Ice Age habitat of pre-human troglodytes. (Handout 22.2) Ask students to determine whether each sentence is a "fact" or a "value judgment."

SUMMARY: Students will give the political, economic, and social consequences of the revolution, based on the two previously read sources.

APPLICATION: Divide the class into groups and have them discuss what social, political, and economic conditions in the Soviet Union today are related to the conditions of post-revolutionary Russia.

Submitted by Larry Smith, Fred Steeby, Jay Green, Gloria Robles

HANDOUT 22.1

Conditions in Petrograd
from Sir B. Pares
Private Papers

Famine is rife in Petrograd, and it is a common occurrence when a horse falls down in the street for the people to rush out of the house to cut off the flesh of the animal the moment it has breathed its last. My informant has also seen lying in the street the carcass of a horse, the head and shoulders of which had been cut off for food. The peasants refuse to sell food for money, but are ready to barter it for clothes, boots, furniture; the shops are all empty...

Money is paid out at the banks in an absolutely arbitrary way to those who have deposits, but by heavy bribes it is possible to get out larger sums. Until quite recently people sold their possessions: objets d'art, jewelry, pictures, furniture-either privately or deposited them in commission shops where they were bought by wealthy Jews, rich speculators and affluent working people. Now, however, no furniture may be sold as it has been declared the common property of the nation, just as all house property has been nationalized, the rents being paid to the Bolshevik Government. People are no longer permitted to take any furniture with their homes because these have been commandeered by the Bolsheviks; and on nearly every family Red Guards have been quartered. At one time blankets were requisitioned, and every bourgeois family was compelled to hand over one good woollen blanket, ostensibly for the Red Guards, but it was common knowledge that they were being sold to the Germans.

Unless people had about 100 rubles (L100) a month per person, they had to starve, and even these favoured ones had to satisfy their hunger with the following food: a certain kind of dried fish, which had to be soaked for 24 hours before it could be boiled; flour, buckwheat and other cereals at 30/- a pound; potatoes, five twice a week, at 6/6 or 7/- a lb. The peel of the potatoes is minced, mixed with breadcrumbs and made into rissoles. In order to buy these vegetables one gas to go in the early hours of the morning to a certain market. Another way of getting food was by buying it at exorbitant prices form members of the Red Guards who are well-fed. Many people, who are not Bolsheviks, have joined the Red Guards for the sake of the food given them. Lenin and his colleagues are living in affluence.

1 October 1918.

HANDOUT 22.2

The Cave
by
Evgeni Zamyatin

Glaciers, mammoths, wastes. Black, nocturnal cliffs, vaguely like houses; in the cliffs—caves. And there is no telling what creature trumpets at night on the rocky path among the cliffs and, sniffing the path, raises clouds of powdered snow. It may be gray-trunked mammoth, it may be the wind, and it may be the wind is nothing but the glacial roar of some supermammoth. One thing is clear: it is winter. And you must clench your teeth tightly to keep them from chattering, and you must split wood with a stone ax, and each night carry your fire from cave to cave, deeper and deeper, and huddle closer in more of those shaggy hides.

At might among the cliffs where ages ago stood Petersburg, a gray-trunked mammoth was roaming. And muffled up in hides and coats and blankets and rags, the cave dwellers were constantly retreating from cave to cave. On the feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin Martin Martinych and Masha shut up the study; three weeks later they moved out of the dining room and entrenched themselves in the bedroom. They could retreat no farther: there they must withstand the siege or die. . . .

LESSON PLAN 23

TOPIC: EFFECT OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION ON THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to identify the effects of the revolution on various social classes in Russia.

MOTIVATION:
1. Brainstorm traumatic experiences in student's lives.
2. Pick one and discuss the variety of possible reactions/effects that experience might have on the individual.
   Example: Parents' divorce

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. (Prerequisite) Students understand the lifestyle of the Russian people under the tsarist regime.
2. Students will identify the similarity between the effects of personal traumatic experiences and the effects of the communist revolution on the Russian people.
   Example: A child who is relatively independent of his parents will be affected much less by divorce than one who is dependent, just as a Russian who was self-sufficient in the country side would not be as immediately affected by revolution as a civil servant in Pertrograd.
3. Group discussion:
   a. Divide class into groups representing the social classes in Russian society (proletariat, poor peasants, rich peasants, bourgeoisie, nobility).
   b. Discuss the probable effects of the revolution on their group.
4. Class discussion: A representative from each group relates probable effects to the class.

SUMMARY: How did the Revolution help/hurt the Russian people?

APPLICATION: How might Glasnost\Perestroika help\hurt the Soviet people?

Submitted by Dorothy Paige, Gene Moffitt, Dan Scarbrough

LESSON PLAN 24

TOPIC: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

OBJECTIVE: Students will know the causes of the Russian Civil War, and the basic positions of the opposing sides.

MOTIVATION: Roundtable Structure- Class is divided into groups of 4-5. Each group has one piece of paper and one pen or pencil. Paper & pen go around the group, each student answering the question: What are some of the reasons for disagreements within your family? 2-3 minutes. Teacher will then elicit various responses from groups, generating a representative list on board of family disputes.

Teacher will then use one or more of these reasons to link with Russian conditions, 1918. (e.g. food shortages, stealing of property, broken promises, etc.)

Note: A civil war is thus compared to a family dispute.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
Teacher will lecture on the varying causes of the Russian Civil War. Positions and motivations of the Reds and the Whites will be explained. Teacher will point out that the Whites were a diverse group, representing a wide range of political beliefs.

Think-Pair-Share Activity—In groups, a question is asked. Each student writes down answer without discussion. then answers are exchanged with a partner in group. Finally, all answers are shared among group. Groups are divided in half, two students are Reds, and two are Whites. Why are you a Red or White, and what do you want to achieve? Two Reds share answers, two Whites share. Then the whole group will share.

SUMMARY: Entire class is divided into two large groups, all the Reds together, all Whites together. Each group will come to a consensus on the reasons that they are fighting, and get them a list (to be handed in). A spokesperson (or persons) from each group will then state that group's position, goals, and be ready to defend them in response to questions/challenges from teacher and other group.

APPLICATION: As activity draws to a close, teacher informs class that the Reds won. Question to think about for tomorrow: "Why did Reds win?"

Submitted by Bob Atherton, Paul Bethel, Dave Tallman

LESSON PLAN 25

TOPIC: STALIN'S LEADERSHIP

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will analyze primary sources through questions involving critical thinking.
2. Students will compare two primary sources.

MOTIVATION: Teacher asks students the following questions:
1. What sources are used in studying history?
2. What are the advantages of primary sources?
3. What are the disadvantages of primary sources?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Teacher passes out copies of addenda to letter without Lenin's signature or date (Handout 25.1) Students are to read the excerpt and then discuss the following questions:
1. When do you think this was written?
2. Why was it written?
3. What were some defects/deficiencies the writer found in Stalin? Where these facts or value judgements? Discuss/explain.
4. Teacher hands out excerpts of Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin (Handout 25.2). Does this characterization of Stalin agree or disagree with the characterization contained in the letter in Handout 25.1?
5. What differences does Khrushchev see between Lenin's leadership tactics and Stalin's tactics?
6. How might Russian history have been different had the writers advice been taken?

SUMMARY:
What are the major advantages primary sources? Disadvantages?

APPLICATION/CONCLUSION:
1. What characteristics would you like to see in a leader today?
2. When you vote in your first presidential election how will you evaluate the candidates?
3. Do you think Gorbachev possesses good qualities of leadership? Give examples.

Submitted by Tom Bergeron, Mary Stubbings, and Dick Wilkinson

HANDOUT 25.1

Addition to the Letter of.....

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a secretary general. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be an insignificant trifle. But I think that from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky it is not a trifle, or it is a trifle which can assume decisive significance.

January———————
Taken down by L.F.

HANDOUT 25.2

Khrushchev's De-Stalinization Speech,
February 24-25, 1956

Stalin originated the concept enemy of the people. This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations. This concept, enemy of the people, actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one's views known on this or that issue even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the confession of the accused himself, and, as subsequent probing proved, confessions were acquired through physical pressures against the accused.

This led to glaring violations of revolutionary legality, and to the fact that many entirely innocent persons, who in the past had defended the party line, became victims.

We must assert that in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their physical annihilation. The formula "enemy of the people" was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals.

It is a fact that many persons who were later annihilated as enemies of the party and people had worked with Lenin during his life. Some of these persons had made errors during Lenin's life, but, despite this, Lenin benefited by their work, he corrected them, and he did everything possible to retain them in the ranks of the party; he induced them to follow him.

Stalin, on the other hand, used extreme methods and mass repressions at a time when the revolution was already victorious, when the Soviet state was strengthened, when the exploiting classes were already liquidated, and socialist relations were rooted solidly in all phases of national economy, when our party was politically consolidated and had strengthened itself both numerically and ideologically. It is clear that here Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. Instead of proving his political correctness and mobilizing the masses, he often chosen the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet Government. Here we see no wisdom but only a demonstration of the brutal force which had once so alarmed V.I. Lenin.

. . .As facts prove, Stalin, using his unlimited power, allowed himself many abuses, acting in the name of the Central Committee, not asking for the opinion of the Committee members nor even of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; often he did not inform them about his personal decisions concerning very important party and government matters.

Considering the question of the cult of an individual, we must first of all show everyone what harm this caused to the interests of our party.

LESSON PLAN 26

TOPIC: STALIN AND THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to identify causes and effects of the Five Year Plan.

MOTIVATION: Tell the class that they are behind the other classes. Ask them to help you catch up. Then tell them that they must read an unrealistic amount of work.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. After the groaning has died down, distribute Handout 26.1, "Blood, Sweat, and Tears."
2. Have students offer ideas why Russia was so interested in building blast furnaces. What were they attempting to do?
3. What does this tell you about the people described in the reading?
4. Why were five year plans started?
5. According to John Scott why were the five year plans instigated?
6. What did Scott mean when he wrote, "All during the thirties the Russian people were at war"?

SUMMARY: What does each one of the words, *blood*, *sweat*, and *tears*, mean, in Scott's view?

APPLICATION:
1. Would an American getting out of college today feel the same way as our hero? Why? Why not?
2. Why do you think military imagery was used?
3. Is Scott's view of America accurate today? Why? Why not?
4. Would a Soviet worker coming to America feel the same way? Why? Why not?

Submitted by Monty Armstrong, Todd Mohrfeld, Bill Taylor

HANDOUT 26.1

Part one Blood, Sweat, and Tears

A

I left the University of Wisconsin in 1931 to find myself in an America sadly dislocated, an America offering few opportunities for young energy and enthusiasm.

I was smitten with the usual wanderlust. The United States did not seem adequate. I decided to go somewhere else. I had already been in Europe three times. Now I projected more far-flung excursions. Plans for a motor-cycle trip to Alaska, thence by home-made sailboat to Siberia and China came to naught. Where would I get the money to finance the project, and what would I do in China? I looked around New York for a job instead. There were no jobs to be had.

Something seemed to be wrong with America. I began to read extensively about the Soviet Union, and gradually came to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks had found answers to at least some of the questions Americans were asking each other. I decided to go to Russia to work, study, and to lend a hand in the construction of a society which seemed to be at least one step ahead of the American.

Following wise parental counsel I learned a trade before going to Russia. I went to work as welder's apprentice in the General Electric plant in Schenectady, and several months later received a welder's certificate. Armed with this, with credentials from the Metal Workers' Union of which I was an active member, and with letters from several personal friends, I set off for Berlin, where I applied for a Soviet visa.

For some five weeks I lived with friends in Wedding, went to Communist demonstrations, and attended numerous turbulent political meetings organized by several parties. Things were bad in Germany. It was shocking to see thousands of able-bodied men living with their families in the Laubenkolonien, the German Hoovervilles, while block after block of apartment houses in Berlin where they had previously lived stood empty. Such things, I felt sure, did not happen in the Soviet Union.

In due course of time Soviet consular wheels ground out my visa and I entrained for Moscow. For ten days I bounced back and forth between several Soviet organizations, trying to make arrangements for a job. The welding trust was glad to give me work. They needed welders in many places. They were not able to sign me up, however, until the visa department had given me permission to remain in the Soviet Union as a worker. The latter organization could grant such permission only to people with jobs. Neither would put anything in writing.

Finally arrangements were completed, and I started out on the four-day train trip to a place called Magnitogorsk on the eastern slopes of the Ural Mountains.

I was very happy. There was no unemployment in the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks planned their economy and gave opportunities to young men and women. Furthermore, they had got away from the fetishization of material possessions, which, my good parents had taught me, was one of the basic ills of our American civilization. I saw that most Russians ate only black bread, wore one suit until it disintegrated, and used old newspapers for writing letters and office memoranda, rolling cigarettes, making envelopes, and for various personal functions.

I was about to participate in the construction of this society. I was going to be one of many who cared not to own. It was September, 1932, and I was twenty years old.

B

Shevchenko knew that this was sound. However, Harris's remark created a situation in which it appeared that he, Shevchenko, was the one who was not doing his job as he should. This would not do. The assistant director launched into a long tirade. He quoted Marx and Stalin, referred to the records of the Ramzin group, to foreign agents and to opportunism. 'Surrounded as we are by hostile capitalist nations, we are forced to industrialize out great county in the shortest possible time, leaving no stone unturned, sparing no one. Magnitogorsk is the most important single heavy industry center in the Soviet Union. Millions of roubles have been invested, thousands of workers have come from far and wide. The country is waiting for our iron and steel. Here we have assembled all the materials and equipment for two new blast furnaces. They must be erected and blown in at the earliest possible date, and yet if I were to believe you I would be forced to think that the whole job must be held up for lack of a few rivets. You, Tishenko, you have thirty years of industrial experience, and you sit there and do nothing. Haven't you got ingenuity enough to think up some way to keep the job going, some way to surmount these obstacles? Or perhaps you're not interested. Perhaps you remain unconvinced by the last fifteen years.'

C

'Well, Jack, how goes it?' he said, slapping me on the back. My Russian was still pretty bad, but I could carry on a simple conversation and understood almost everything that was said.

'Badly,' I said. 'All our equipment freezes. The boys spend half their time warming their hands.'

'Nichevo, that doesn't matter,' said the disfranchised rigger's brigadier. 'If you lived where I do, in a tent, you wouldn't think it so cold here.'

'I know you guys have it tough,' said Popov, who had joined us. 'That's what you get for being kulaks.'

Shabkov smiled broadly. 'Listen, I don't want to go into a political discussion, but a lot of the people living down in the "special" section of town are no more kulaks than you.'

Popov laughed. 'I wouldn't be surprised. Tell me, though. How did they decide who was to be dekulakized?'

'Ah,' said Shabkov, 'that's a hell of a question to ask a guy that's trying to expiate his crimes in honest labor. Just between the three of us, though, the poor peasants of the village get together in a meeting and decide: "So-and-so- had six horses; we couldn't very well get along without those in the collective farm" besides he hired a man last year to help on the harvest.' They notify the GPU, and there you are. So-and-so gets five years. They confiscate his property and give it to the new collective farm. sometimes they ship the whole family out. When they came to ship us out, my brother got a rifle and fired several shots at the GPU officers. They fired back. My brother was killed. All of which, naturally, didn't make it any better for us. We all got five years, and in different places. I heard my father died in December, but I'm not sure.'

D

In 1940, Winston Churchill told the British people that they could expect nothing but blood, sweat, and tears. The country was at war. The British people did not like it, but most of them accepted it.

Ever since 1931 or thereabouts the Soviet Union has been at war, and the people have been sweating, shedding blood and tears. People were wounded and killed, women and children froze to death, millions starved, thousands were court-martialed and shot in the campaigns of collectivization and industrialization. I would wager that Russia's battle of ferrous metallurgy alone involved more casualties than the battle of the Marne. All during the thirties the Russian people were at war.

It did not take me long to realize that they ate black bread principally because there was no other to be had, wore rags because they could not be replaced.

In Magnitogorsk I was precipitated into a battle. I was deployed on the iron and steel front. Tens of thousands of people were enduring the most intense hardships in order to build blast furnaces, and many of them did it willingly, with boundless enthusiasm, which infected me from the day of my arrival.

I plunged into the life of the town with the energy of youth. I literally wore out my Russian grammar, and in three months I was making myself understood. I gave away many of the clothes I had brought with me, and dressed more or less like the other workers on the job. I worked as hard and as well as my comparatively limited experience and training permitted.

I was liberally rewarded. My fellow workers accepted me as one of themselves. The local authorities urged me to study, and arranged for me to be accepted into the 'Komvuz,' or Communist University, to which only Communist Party members were usually admitted. They helped me to make arrangements to go on trips around the country.

While political leaders in Moscow were scheming and intriguing, planing and organizing, I worked in Magnitogorsk with the common soldiers, the steel workers, the simple people who sweated and shed tears and blood.

For five years I worked in Magnitogorsk. I saw a magnificent plant built. I saw much sweat and blood, many tears.

(From: John Scott, *Behind the Urals* , New York, 1942)

LESSON PLAN 27

TOPIC: CHANGES WROUGHT BY RAPID INDUSTRIALIZATION UNDER STALIN

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to identify positive and negative aspects of rapid industrialization in the lives of tow Soviet people.

MOTIVATION: The teacher will state to the students that the early Soviet Five Year Plans are the best model for countries wishing to industrialize rapidly, and challenge the students to support or refute that statement.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will have read the relevant section on the period of Soviet industrialization and collectivization in their textbook.
2. The teacher will identify and explain certain vocabulary from the primary source reading sheet, which the students may not be familiar with (Tatar, Magnitogorsk, Kazakhstan, Kirghiz, Tamerlane, Kulak, GPU).
3. The students will read (silently and individually) and excerpt from John Scott's book *Behind the Urals* (Handout 27.1).
4. Upon completing the reading, students will use the information to answer the following questions:
   a. What are the names of the two main people described in the reading? Give a brief description about what they did before coming to Magnitogorsk.
   b. Did most of the workers at Magnitogorsk have greater experience in industrial or agricultural work? Explain.
   c. From the reading, what examples can you give that show Khaibulin's isolation from the rest of the world before he came to Magnitogorsk?
   d. What did Khaibulin learn and gain by becoming an industrial worker at Magnitogorsk?
   e. What did Shabkov lose during the process of industrialization and collectivization. Why?
   f. What class does Khaibulin represent now that he is working at Magnitogorsk. What class does Shabkov belong to?
   g. Which of these two men would be an enthusiastic supporter of industrialization?

SUMMARY: The teacher will open up the class for discussion on the reading and questions, and tie it in with the previous night's textbook reading assignment.

APPLICATION: The students are to name a present day country (for example Brazil) which is also going through a period of rapid industrialization, and write a paragraph or as compared with the early Soviet industrialization. The students may use their textbook, encyclopedias, and library books to research and answer this assignment.

Submitted by Jean-Paul Martel

HANDOUT 27.1

Behind the Urals
by John Scott

. . . Khaibulin, the Tartar, had never seen a staircase, a locomotive, or an electric light until he gad come to Magnitogorsk a year before. His ancestors for centuries had raised stock on the flat plains of Kazakhstan. They had been dimly conscious of the Czarist government; they had had to pay taxes. Reports of the Kirghiz insurrection in 1916 had reached them. They had heard stories of the October Revolution; they even saw the Red Army come and drive out a few rich landlords. They had attended meetings of Soviet, without understanding very clearly what it was all about, but through all this their lives had gone on more or less as before. Now Shaimat Khaibulin was building a blast furnace bigger than any in Europe. He had learned to read and was attending an evening school, learning the trade of electrician. He had learned to speak Russian, he read newspapers. His life had changed more in a year than that of his antecedents since the time of Tamerlane.

Ivanov, Kolya, and I entered the shanty just as the whistle started to blow. The cutters' brigadier was already in the center of the room assigning his men to their various places for the day. Welders were getting electrodes and buttoning up their coats. The burners were working over their hoses, swearing graphically as they found frozen spots or as disputes arose about torches, generators, or wrenches. By the time the whistle had finished blowing, most of the men had left the room, whistling cheerfully, kidding each other and swearing at the cold.

The foremen gathered around the table. The telephone rang incessantly—a welder was wanted at the blowing station, two of the riggers in the gang working on the open-hearth gas line had not come to work. The gang could not hoist the next section of pipe short-handed. Ivanov swore at the absentees, their mothers, and grandmothers. Then he went out to borrow two men form another gang. Kolya wrote out a list of the welders and what they were doing. He wrote it on newspaper. The ink was a semi-frozen slush. This list formed the basis on which the workers would get paid for the day's work. He thrust it into his pocket and went to the clean gas line to see how things were going. I took my mask and electrodes and started out for No. 3. On the way I met Shabkov, the ex-kulak; a great husky youth with a red face, a jovial voice, and two fingers missing from his left hand.

'Well, Jack, how goes it?' he said, slapping me on the back. My Russian was still pretty bad, but I could carry on a simple conversation and understood almost everything that was said.

'Badly,' I said. 'All our equipment freezes. The boys spend half their time warming their hands.'

'Nichevo, that doesn't matter,' said the disfranchised rigger's brigadier. 'If you lived where I do, in a tent, you wouldn't think it so cold here.'

'I know you guys have it tough,' said Popov, who had joined us. 'That's what you get for being kulaks.'

Shabkov smiled broadly. 'Listen, I don't want to go into a political discussion, but a lot of the people living down in the "special" section to town are no more kulaks than you.'

Popov laughed. 'I wouldn't be surprised. Tell me, though. How did they decide who was to be dekulakized?'

'Ah,' said Shabkov, 'that's a hell of a question to ask a guy that's trying to expiate his crimes in honest labor. Just between the three of us, though, the poor peasants of the village get together in a meeting and decide: 'So-and-so had six hours; we couldn't very well get along without those in the collective farm; besides he hired a man last year to help in the harvest.' They notify the GPU, and there you are. So-and-so gets five years. They confiscate his property and give it to the new collective farm. Sometimes they ship the whole family out. When they came to ship us out, my brother got a rifle and fired several shots at the GUP officers. They fired back. My brother was killed. All of which, naturally, didn't make it any better for us. We all got five years, and in different places. I heard my father died in December, but I'm not sure.'

Shabkov got out his canvas tobacco pouch and a roll of newspaper, and thrust both toward Popov. 'Kulak smoke?' He smiled grimly.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Popov availed himself of the opportunity and rolled a cigarette.

'Da. A lot of things happen that we don't hear much about. But then, after all, look at what we're doing. In a few years now we'll be ahead of everybody industrially. We'll all have automobiles and there won't be any differentiation between kulaks and anybody else.' Popov swept his arm dramatically in the direction of the towering blast furnace. Then he turned to Shabkov. 'Are you literate?'

'Yes,' said Shabkov, 'I studied three years. I even learned a little algebra. But now, what the hell! Even if I were really well-educated, they wouldn't let me do any other work but this. What's the use of me studying? Anyhow, they won't even let me in to any but an elementary school. When I get home from work I want to raise my elbow and have a good time.' Shabkov touched his throat with his index finger, to any Russian a symbol of getting drunk. We arrived at No. 3. Shabkov swung onto a ladder and disappeared up into the steel. Popov looked after him with wrinkled forehead. Shabkov was one of the best brigadiers in the whole outfit. He spared neither himself nor those under him, and he used his head. And yet he was a kulak, serving a sentence, living in a section of town under the surveillance of the GPU, a class enemy. Funny business, that. Popov didn't thoroughly understand it.

Popov and I set about welding up a section of the bleeder pope on the blast furnace. He gave me a break and took the outside for the first hour. Then we changed around. From the high scaffolding, nearly a hundred feet above the ground, I could see Kolya making the rounds of his thirty-odd welders, helping them when they were in trouble, swearing at them when they spent too much time worming their hands. People swore at Kolya a good deal too, because the scaffolds were unsafe or the wages bad.

LESSON PLAN 28

TOPIC: THE TERROR OF JOSEPH STALIN

OBJECTIVES: The students will be able to:
1. Identify the methods of terror used by Stalin;
2. State the causes and effects of the terror;
3. Identify the viewpoints of a primary source document;
4. Discuss and relate their opinions of Stalin with the Soviet Union today.

MOTIVATION: Teacher will tell students that during the 25 years of Stalin's regime over 25 million Soviet's suffered from death, dislocation, and imprisonment. Everyone knew of someone who disappeared.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Students will read biographical information on Stalin (Handout 28.1) and an excerpt from a primary source document, Khrushchev's De-Stalinization Speech (Handout 28.2).
1. What was Stalin's family background? How do you think this influenced his political life?
2. What early experiences helped to shape Stalin's career?
3. How did Stalin gain power?
4. What did Khrushchev mean by "de-Stalinization"?
5. What is meant by the concept "enemy of the people"? What happened to these "enemies" under Stalin's rule?

SUMMARY: Why do some Russians think of Stalin as a hero? If you were a citizen of the USSR, would you consider Stalin as a hero or a villain? Why?

APPLICATION: Would the Soviets today accept a leader like Stalin? Why? Why not?

Submitted by Bob Atherton, Paul Bethel, and Dave Tallman

HANDOUT 28.1

Joseph Stalin

Born Iodif Vissarinovich Djugashvili - December 21, 1879
Died of brain hemorrhage in Moscow - March 5, 1953

Father was unsuccessful shoemaker—was cruel to him—father deserted family—mother became washerwoman—sacrificed to send her son to School.

Attended church school age 9-14, good student.
Entered religious seminary, studied for priesthood age 14-19.
Was noted for good schoolwork, holding grudges and unforgiving nature, was often disciplined for reading forbidden books (*Das Kapital*). Expelled from seminary for his communist ideas and statements.

Joined Marxist Party at age 22.
Arrested by Czar's police, imprisoned and exiled to Siberia.
Stalin escaped at age 24, joined Bolshevik Party, met Lenin.

Stalin was married twice, both wives died, two sons were killed, daughter, Svetlana, has lived in United States since 1967.

Between age 27 and 34 Stalin spent 7 years in prison or exile.
Returned with Lenin to Russia to be in on Bolshevik Revolution, age 38.

Worked with Lenin, but quietly plotted against him, Lenin found out, Lenin was too ill to move against Stalin, wrote secret note warning Bolshevik leaders about Stalin, note was found, Stalin convinced them note was wrong, Stalin took over leadership at Lenin's death.

At age 45 took over Russian government, solidified his power by eliminating rivals, was absolute dictator by age 50.

Stalin began 5 year plans to collectivize agriculture an replace private business with government ownership—exiled, imprisoned or killed those who objected—deported or exiled farmers who killed their livestock and burned crops rather than turn over to government—sent Army into and took over small weak nations or western borders.

Stalin set up secret police system to arrest anyone who opposed him—used show trials to find them guilty, imprisoned, exiled or executed—eliminated all political rivals and those who had led Bolshevik revolution—has most of Lenin's old followers killed—ordered all history books rewritten to show Stalin as more important then Lenin.

Made peace treaty with Hitler in 1939 in return for right to take over Eastern Poland, Baltic States, and Finland. Germany broke treaty and invaded Russia in 1941—people deserted Stalin, welcomed German invaders at first, after mistreatment by Germans, people resumed loyalty to Stalin. Stalin led defense of Russia, became more popular.

After war, Stalin cut off all normal contact between U.S.S.R. and rest of world, ordered Red Army to set up Communist governments in Eastern Europe, tried to take over Iran, Greece and Turkey and expel U.S. troops from Berlin—Opposed by President Truman who resisted Russian expansion and formed N.A.T.O. alliance of Western Europe against U.S.S.R.

Death came at age 73 as Stalin planned another great "purge" to get rid of new opposition that had built up since last purge. Stalin's body placed beside Lenin's, was honored as great Russian hero.

A few years later Khrushchev began "de-Stalinization," revealed Stalin's brutality, lies and murders of Lenin's followers,—body was removed to common grave, renamed towns and rewrote history down-playing Stalin.

HANDOUT 28.2

Khrushchev's De-Stalinization Speech,
February 24-25, 1956

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position-was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the 17th party congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.

Stalin originated the concept enemy of the people. This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations. This concept, enemy of the people, actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one's views know on this or that issue even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the confession of the accused himself, and, as subsequent probing proved, confessions ewer acquired through physical pressures against the accused.

Stalin used extreme methods and mass repressions at a time when the revolution was already victorious, when the Soviet state was strengthened, when the exploiting classes were already liquidated, and socialist relations were rooted solidly in all phases of national economy, when our party was politically consolidated and had strengthened itself both numerically and ideologically. It is clear that here Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. Instead of proving his political correctness and mobilizing the masses, he often chose the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet Government. Here we see no wisdom but only a demonstration of the brutal force which had once so alarmed V.I. Lenin.

LESSON PLAN 29

TOPIC: THE PURGES OF STALINIST RUSSIA

PRIOR TO THIS LESSON: Students will read the section in their textbook covering the Five Year Plans, the nature of a totalitarian state, and what life was like under Stalin.

MOTIVATION: Teacher will write the following on the chalkboard:

"We know pretty well today what at one time we could only suspect: that this was a man of incredible criminality effectively without limits; a man. . .without pity or mercy."

Based on what you have read for homework, to whom does this description refer? Is it an accurate description?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Students will read "Stalin's Cult of Personality and the Purges" (Handout 29.1) and "Stalin's Official History of the Purges" (Handout 29.2).

1. What is meant by the term "cult of personality"?
2. What is the connection between the murder of Kirov and the purges that followed?
3. What are some of the reasons that might explain why Stalin eliminated many of the military and political leaders in the Soviet Union?
4. What reasons for the purges are presented in "Stalin's Official History of the Purges"? How can you account for the differences between the interpretations offered by these two documents?
5. Note the tone and language contained in "Stalin's Official History"; how does it differ from the tone and language of Stalin's Cult of Personality"?

SUMMARY: Historians are still not certain why Stalin instituted the purges. List three possible reasons that make the most sense to you.

APPLICATION: How does a democracy deal with political opposition? Give examples from current events. How does a totalitarian state deal with opposition? Give examples from current events. (Students could refer to the crushing of the democracy movement in China.)

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

Handout 29.1

Stalin's Cult of Personality and the Purges

By 1930, Stalin had begun to develop the cult of his own personality. History was rewritten to illustrate Stalin's genius at every turn. Streets, cities, factories, and mountains were named in his honor. Stalin's picture was put up in every school, store, and factory, while newspapers and radios controlled by the Party-state continuously trumpeted the accomplishments of the all-wise leader, the genius Stalin.

The cult of personality both reflected and enhanced Stalin's power. It was soon accompanied, however, by a new and terrible development in Soviet history. In December, 1934, Kirov, the popular head of the Leningrad Party organization, was assassinated. Stalin probably organized this event. In any case, he used it to justify a far-reaching purge of Soviet society, and particularly of the Party. There had been some arrests and accusations of industrial sabotage in the early 1930s, accompanied by public trials that provided scapegoats for the regime. Those put on trial were blamed for making mistakes and causing all the popular suffering during the time of the first rapid industrialization. More often, of course, that suffering was a side effect of a definite government policy, pushing heavy industry rather than consumer goods or agriculture, for example. There had also been arrests and summary executions in the early years of Bolshevik power when the government felt weak and insecure. What now took place was unprecedented in scale.

FACT: 1108 of the 1966 delegates to the 17th Communist Party Congress (1934) and 98 of the 139 regular and candidate (non-voting) members elected by that Congress to its Central Committee perished in the purges. Most of them were shot.

If in the 1920s, the Party and security police had dealt harshly with any and all who opposed the Bolsheviks, now the security police turned on the Party itself. The leadership was hardest hit. All past or potential opponents of Stalin were arrested and accused of outlandish plots, such as conspiring with "Judas Trotsky" to murder Stalin and sabotage the country's economy, or plotting with Germany and Japan to dismember the Soviet Union. In carefully staged, public show trials that received wide publicity, many of the early Bolshevik leaders such as Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Bukharin confessed to these fictitious crimes after long periods of confinement and torture in prison. Agents of the secret police tracked Trotsky down in Mexico and murdered him there. The purges reached throughout the USSR, into universities and factories, and into towns throughout the Soviet land, striking individuals who had no idea why they were being accused. In some instances, local purges probably served as a means to settle old scores or get rid of a boss who stood in the way of promotion. The purges hit hardest those who had had a measure of responsibility. After purging the Party, the police turned on the army. Three of the top five Soviet military leaders were arrested, including Marshal Tukachevsky, who was widely considered the most brilliant Soviet military strategist. Tukachevsky was accused, tried, and executed for plotting with Japan and Germany to dismember the Soviet Union, activities for which there was absolutely no evidence. Some estimate that as a result of these purges the army lost half of it officer corps.

FACT: Estimates are the 8 million people were arrested in the purges, about 5% of the total population. Of these, about 800,000 were executed. Most of the rest were sentenced to labor campus strung out across Siberia. There they joined the vast work force of what the Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn call the *Gulag Archipelago—gulag* being the acronym for Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps.

The purges struck down virtually all of the original Bolshevik leaders. They also removed the revolutionary generation from positions of leadership throughout the country and made way for the young—the Khrushchevs, Brezhnevs and Kosygins. These new men had gained education and quick promotion from the Soviet system, and now rose rapidly to prominent positions. If the purges had this one positive effect, making room for younger, technically trained people in key positions, they also had the pernicious effect of creating fear and suspicion throughout the Soviet population. They created an atmosphere, Stalin's successor Nikita Khrushchev later said, in which no one felt secure and so no one could work well or with confidence.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The reasons why Stalin ordered the purges remain a matter of debate. There is little doubt that he knew what was happening. Of course, there had in fact been opposition to some of his policies, particularly to his methods of collectivization, but by the late 1930s, those who had opposed him had no power. There is also some evidence that there was, in the early 1930s, some quiet, behind-the-scenes opposition to Stalin's increasingly autocratic ways. It seems unlikely, however, that there was serious threat to his authority. From the regime's point of view, the arrests and public trials that followed were useful, in that they gave it the opportunity to blame many of its problems on willful wrecking and sabotage by a malevolent few. The arrests and trials also helped develop a siege mentality among the population, providing evidence that devious and determined foreign powers were plotting to overthrow the Soviet, socialist state. Such a view of an outside world filled with hostile capitalist states could be used to justify continuous vigilance, sacrifice, and hard work. Nonetheless, it remains hard to understand the reasons for such a large scale attack on the Soviet population. Most historians agree that an important reason for the purges was the growing paranoia of Stalin himself and the deterioration of his mental balance. What is really most remarkable about the purges, however, is that the Stalinist system of government was both willing and able to undertake the destruction of so many innocent people.

HANDOUT 29.2

Stalin's Official History of the Purges

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union *was approved by Stalin and published in 1938. It was the official version of Soviet history up to that point. Seventy million copies were printed between 1938 and 1953, and it was used in all schools throughout the Soviet Union. In addition to glorifying Stalin, the History vilifies most of the early Bolshevik leaders who had, by 1938, been arrested and shot in the purges. Those mentioned in this passage, Bukharin, Trotsky, Pyatakov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Krestinsky et al. were all Old Bolsheviks. There is absolutely no evidence that they plotted against Lenin, betrayed state secrets, or conspired with foreigners.*

. . .In 1937, new facts came to light regarding the fiendish crimes of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang. The trial of Pyatakov, Radek and others, the trial of Tukhachevsky, Yakir and others, and, lastly, the trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, Rosengoltz and others, all showed that the Bukharinites and Trotskyites had long ago joined to form a common band of enemies of the people, operating as the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

The trials showed that these dregs of humanity, in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Socialist Revolution. The insidious attempts to thwart the Peace of Brest-Litovsk at the beginning of 1918, the plot against Lenin and the conspiracy with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries for the arrest and murder of Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov in the spring of 1918, the villainous shot that wounded Lenin in the summer of 1918, the deliberate aggravation of differences in the Party in 1921 with the object of undermining and overthrowing Lenin's leadership from within, the attempts to overthrow the Party leadership during Lenin's illness and after his death, the betrayal of state secrets and the supply of information of an espionage character to foreign espionage services, the vile assassination of Kirov, the acts of wrecking, diversion and explosions, the dastardly murder of Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Gorky—all these and similar villainies over a period of twenty years were committed, it transpired, with the participation or under the direction of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov and their henchmen, at the behest of espionage services of bourgeois states.

The trials brought to light the fact that the Trotsky-Bukharin fiends, in obedience to the wishes of their masters—the espionage services of foreign states—had set out to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defensive power of the country, to assist foreign military intervention, to prepare the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to bring about the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., to hand over the Soviet Maritime Region to the Japanese, Soviet Byelorussia to the Poles, and the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans, to destroy the gains of the workers and collective farmers, and to restore capitalist slavery in the U.S.S.R.

These Whiteguard pigmies, whose strength was no more than that of a gnat, apparently flattered themselves that they were the masters of the country, and imagined that it was really in their power to sell or give away the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Maritime Region.

These Whiteguard insects forgot that the real masters of the Soviet country were the Soviet people, and that the Rykovs, Bukharins, Zinovievs and Kamenevs were only temporary employees of the state, which could at any moment sweep them out from its offices as so much useless rubbish.

These contemptible lackeys of the fascists forgot that the Soviet people had only to move a finger,and not a trace of them would be left.

The Soviet court sentenced the Bukharin-Trotsky fiends to be shot.

The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs carried out the sentence.

The Soviet people approved the annihilation of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang and passed on to next business....

(From the Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, New York, 1939.)

LESSON PLAN 30

TOPIC: PURGES UNDER STALIN

OBJECTIVE: By reading a work of literature, students will understand the impact of the purges on a Soviet writer.

MOTIVATION: Has anyone ever accused you of doing something that you had not done? How did you feel? How would you have felt if many people accused you of something even though you were innocent?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Teacher informs students that many loyal and devoted Communists were arrested and imprisoned during the Stalinist purges. Many had absolutely no idea of why they had been arrested since they had committed no crime.
2. Eugenia Ginzburg was a victim of the purges. Students will read a chapter from her biography, "Into the Whirlwind of the Purges" (Handout 30.1) and answer the following questions:
   a. Why was Eugenia Ginzburg arrested?
   b. Why did Alaxandra Alexandrovna urge Ginzburg to admit guilt? Why didn't Ginzburg admit guilt?
   c. Many innocent people confessed to crimes they had never committed. Based on this reading, why do you think they confessed?
   d. Why did the author write, "if the same thing happened to me today, I would recant."

SUMMARY: Write a brief essay, "What it Was Like to Live in Russia During the Purges."

APPLICATION: Could the same thing happen in the Soviet Union today? Why? Why not?

Submitted by Donna Carrington

HANDOUT 30.1

Into the Whirlwind of the Purges
by
Eugenia Ginzburg

The next two years might be called the prelude to that symphony of madness and terror which began for me in February 1937. A few days after Elvov's arrest, a Party meeting was held at the editorial office of Red Tartary at which, for the first time, I was accused of what I had not done.

I had not denounced Elvov as a purveyor of Trotskyist contraband. I had not written a crushing review of the source book on Tartar history he had edited—I had even contributed to it (not that my article, dealing with the nineteenth century, was in any way criticized). I had not, even once, attacked him at public meeting.

My attempts to appeal to common sense were similarly dismissed. "But I wasn't the only one—no one in the regional committee [of the party[attacked him!"

"Never you mind, each will answer for himself. At the moment it's you who are talking about."

"But he was trusted by the regional committee. Communists elected him to the municipal board."

"You should have pointed out that this was wrong. What were you given university training for, and an academic job?"

This naive question provoked self-righteous anger:

"Don't you know he's been arrested? Can you imagine anyone's being arrested unless there's something definite against him?"

All my life I shall remember every detail of that meeting, so notable for me because, for the first time, I came up against that reversal of logic and common sense which never ceased to amaze me in the more than twenty years that followed right up to the Twentieth Party Congress (when Khrushchev gave his Secret Speech), or at any rate the plenum of September 1953.

During a recess I went off to the editorial office. I wanted a moment to myself to think of what I should do next and how to behave without losing my dignity as a Communist and a human being. My cheeks were burning, and for several minutes I felt as if I should go mad with the pain of being unjustly accused.

The door creaked, and Alexandra Alexandrovna, the office typist, came in. She had done a lot of work for me and we got on well. An elderly, reserved woman who had suffered some kind of disappointment in life, she was devoted to me.

"You're taking this the wrong way, Eugenia Semyonovna. You should admit you're guilty and say you are sorry."

"But I'm not guilty of anything. Why should I lie at a Party meeting?"

And by not saying you repent you make it worse."

"I won't be a hypocrite. If they do reprimand me, I'll fight till they withdraw it."

She looked at me with her kindly eyes surrounded by a network of wrinkles, and repeated the very words Elvov had said to me at our last meeting:

"You don't understand what's going on. You're heading for a lot of trouble."

Doubtless, if the same thing happened to me today, I would "recant." I almost certainly would, for I too have changed. I am no longer the proud, incorruptible, inflexible being I was then. But in those days this is what I was: proud, incorruptible, inflexible, and no power on earth could have made me join in the orgy of breast -beating and self-criticism that was just beginning.

Large and crowded lecture halls were turned into public confessionals...Beating their breasts, the "guilty" would lament that they had "shown political short-sightedness" and "lack of vigilance," "compromised with dubious elements," "added grist" to this or that mill, and were tainted with "rotten liberalism."

Many such phrases echoed under the vaulted roofs of public buildings. The press, too, was flooded with contrite articles by Party theorists, frightened out of their wits like rabbits and not attempting to conceal their fear. The power and importance of the NKVD grew with every day...

(Mrs. Ginzburg began to live in continuous fear of arrest.)

My mind told me that there was absolutely nothing for which I could be arrested. It was true, of course, that in the monstrous accusations which the newspapers daily hurled at "enemies of the people" there was

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

something clearly exaggerated, not quite real. All the same, I thought to myself, there must be something in it, however little—they must at least have voted the wrong way on some occasion or other. I, on the other hand, had never belonged to the opposition, nor had I ever had the slightest doubt as to the rightness of the Party line.

"If they arrested people like you they'd have to lock up the whole Party," my husband encouraged me in my line of reasoning.

Yet, in spite of all these rational arguments, I could not shake off a feeling of approaching disaster. I seemed to be at the center of an iron ring which was all the time contracting and would soon crush me.

The nights were terrifying. But what we were waiting for actually happened in the daytime...

We were in the dining room, my husband, Alyosha, and I. My stepdaughter Mayka was out skating. Vasya was in the nursery. I was ironing some laundry. I often felt like doing manual work; it distracted me form my thoughts. Alyosha was having breakfast, and my husband was reading a story by Valeria Gerasimova aloud to him. Suddenly the telephone rang. It sounded as shrill as on that day in December 1934. [Day Kirov was shot]

For a few moments, none of us picked it up. We hated telephone calls in those days. Then my husband said in that unnaturally calm voice he so often used now:

"It must be Lukovnikov. I asked him to call."

He took the receiver, listened, went as white as a sheet, and said even more quietly:

"It's for you, Genia. Vevers, of the NKVD."

Vevers, the head of the NKVD department for special political affairs, could not have been more amiable and charming. His voice burbled on like a brook in spring.

"Good morning, dear comrade. Tell me, how are you fixed for time today?"

"I'm always free now. Why?"

Oh, dear, always free, how depressing. Never mind, these things will pass.

So anyway, you'd have time to come and see me for a moment...

[As she went out the door, not to return for many years, her husband said]

"Well, Genia, we'll expect you came for lunch."

How pathetic he looked, all of a sudden, how his lips trembled! I thought of his assured, masterful tone in the old days, the tone of an old Communist, an experienced Party worker.

"Good-by, Paul dear. We've had a good life together."

I didn't even say "Look after the children." I knew he would not be able to take care of them. He was again trying to comfort me with commonplaces—I could no longer catch what he was saying. I walked quickly toward the reception room, and suddenly heard his broken cry:

"Genia!"

He had the haunted look of a baited animal, of a harried and exhausted human being-it was a look I was to see again and again, there...

EPILOGUE

All that this book describes is over and done with. I, and thousands like me, have lived to see the Twentieth and the Twenty-second Party Congress.

In 1937, when this tale begins, I was a little over thirty. Now I am in my fifties. The intervening eighteen years were spent "there."

During those years I experienced many conflicting feelings, but the dominant one was that of amazement. Was all this imaginable—was it really happening, could it be intended? Perhaps it was this very amazement which helped to keep me alive. I was not only a victim, but an observer also. What, I kept saying to myself, will come of this? Can such things just happen and be done with, unattended by retribution?

Many a time, my thoughts were taken off my own sufferings by the keen interest which I felt in the unusual aspects of life and of human nature which unfolded around me. I strove to remember all these things in the hope of recounting them to honest people and true Communists, such as I was sure would listen to me one day.

When I wrote this record, I thought of it as a letter to my grandson. I supposed that by 1980, when he would be twenty years old, these matters might seem remote enough to be safely divulged. How wonderful that I was mistaken, and that the great Leninist truths have again come into their own in our country and Party! Today the people can already be told of the things that have been and shall be no more.

Here, then, is the story of an ordinary Communist woman during the period of the "personality cult."

LESSON PLAN 31

TOPIC: OPPRESSION UNDER STALIN

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to explain how citizens lived in fear under the rule of Stalin.

MOTIVATION: Students will receive copy of poem, "Stalin", by Osip Mandelstam (Handout 31.1). Notice that the student copy has title removed and numbers added to identify the stanzas. Students will be asked to identify the unnamed subject of the poem. Discussion will follow, including the clues used to help identify the poem's subject.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Teacher leads a discussion of political situation in 1934 and the conditions that have developed under Stalin up to this time.
2. Students form groups of four and receive questions (Handout 31.2).
3. Groups complete questions.
4. With entire class, teacher leads discussion based on questions just completed by group.
5. Question sheets collected.
6. Teacher then supplies true answer to question #6: "Mandelstam was arrested, tortured, and sent to a remote spot in the Urals, where he attempted suicide by leaping from a hospital window. The miracle was that he was alive at all. He tried in this exile to save not himself but his presumptive widow by writing the standard 'Ode to Stalin.' His choice was either to praise Stalin or to condemn a loved one to death. He praised Stalin."

(From *The Portable Twentieth-Century Russian Reader*, Brown page 170.)

APPLICATION: Teacher explains to the class: "You have been identified as the author of this poem. Comrade Stalin is not at all pleased with your work. Your assignment is to rewrite the poem to please Comrade Stalin, or to interpret the poem in such a way that it will not be offensive, or to write a letter of apology that will somehow save you from exile." (Length: one half page to one page.) This will probably have to be a homework assignment started in class.

Note: The ALL UNION CONGRESS OF SOCIETY WRITERS will review this assignment and select the five rewritten poems or reinterpretations that will most likely please Comrade Stalin. These five will receive bonus points and be posted on the wall.

Submitted by Donna Carrington, Bob Cossarek, Gary Rhodes, and Natalie Roesch

HANDOUT 31.1

1 We live. We are not sure our land is under us.
Ten feet away, no one hears us.

2 But wherever there's even a half-conversation,
we remember the Kremlin's mountaineer.

3 His thick fingers are fat as worms,
his words reliable as ten-pound weights.

4 His boot tops shine,
his cockroach mustache is laughing.

5 About him, the great, his thin-necked, drained advisors.
He plays with them. He is happy with half-men around him.

6 They make touching and funny animal sounds.
He alone talks Russian.

7 One after another, his sentences hit like horseshoe! He
pounds them out. He always hits the nail, the balls.

8 After each death, he is like a Georgian tribesman,
putting a raspberry in his mouth.

(1934)

HANDOUT 31.2

Questions for the poem
"Stalin"
by Osip Mandelstam

Group #_____
Period_____

1. Stalin and his advisors.
   List the words that describe Stalin:

   List the words that describe the advisors:

2. What is the meaning of stanza #1 ? Who are "we" and "us"?

3. What is the meaning of stanza #2 ?

4. What is the meaning of stanza #5?

5. What is the meaning of stanza #6 ?

6. What do you think happened to Osip Mandelstam after this poem was published?

LESSON PLAN 32

TOPIC: COMPARISON OF THE HOLOCAUST AND THE FAMINE IN THE UKRAINE

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to understand the nature of events that took place during the Ukrainian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust.

MOTIVATION: Students will write a word with each letter of the word "GENOCIDE" associated with its meaning.

Example:
G rotesque
E nd
N ationalities
O bliterate
C rime
I llegal
D estruction
E xtermination

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Students will receive copies of the excerpts from the book *Night* by Elie Wiesel and from The Ukrainian Genocide, Appendix B from Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide. (Handouts 32.1 and 32.2)
2. In the description of the Ukrainian genocide, what caused the mass starvation?
3. How did Stalin ensure total control of the grain porduced in the Ukraine?
4. Why did production of agriculture decline after the delivery of "whatever quantity of produce" became compulsory?
5. Complete this sentence: The Ukrainian genocide could have been avoided if . . .
6. What are the words in the excerpt from *Night* that indicate genocide? (example: burning flesh, tommy gun)
7. Was there any chance of escaping death in Buchenwald? What would suggest this?
8. What was the fate of Wiesel's parents?

SUMMARY: Discuss how the Ukrainian genocide differed from the Jewish holocaust. How were the two episodes similar?

APPLICATION: What type of genocides are occurring in the world today?

Submitted by Gloria Robles

HANDOUT 32.1

The Ukranian Genocide

The essence of collectivization was the compulsory delivery to the state of whatever quantity of produce the state demanded. The so-called first commandment of Soviet agriculture enshrined the principle that all obligations to the state, as the state set them, had to be met before anything could be given to the peasants. Production declined while the state's demands remained far in excess of what the peasants had ever sold voluntarily. By the beginning of 1932, collectivization in Ukraine was virtually complete: 69 percent of all rural households and 80 percent of all farmland had been colectivized. Repeated extraction had exhausted Ukraine's agriculture, and by the summer Ukraine's Communists spoke openly of "food supply difficulties" and lobbied unsuccessfully for relief from the exations demanded by Moscow.

After the 1932 harvest the Ukrainian Communists carried out the grain seizures that brought about the mass starvation of which they had warned. The famine was created on a territorial basis, and its victims included members of Ukraine's minorities as well as Ukrainians.

In late 1932 measures against the so-called tight-fisted became ever more severe. Local officials who were found insufficiently reslolute in what the press daily called "the struggle for bread" were arrested. As early as October, Stalin began to appoint his own men to "strengthen" the Ukrainian apparatus by occupying high posts in the USSR. In December whole districts (rations) were subject to economic blockade, and both the food for current needs and the seed for the next year's harvest were seized in the course of exacting house-to-house searches. Many people died, and outbreaks of cannibalism were reported. Officials in Ukraine kept Moscow fully informed of the situation.

(From *Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide*)

HANDOUT 32.2

Elie Wiesel, winner of The 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, was deported with his family to Auschwitz when he was fourteen. Later he was transferred to Buchenwald where his parents and a younger sister died. He has described his experiences in his book Night:

. . .as the train stopped, we saw. . .flames. . .gushing out of a tall chimney into the black sky. . .We looked into the flames in the darkness. There was an abominable odor floating in the air. Suddenly, our doors opened. Some odd looking characters, dressed in striped shirts and black trousers leapt into the wagon. They held electric torches and truncheon. They began to strike out right and left shouting:

"Everybody get out. Everybody out of the wagon. Quickly." We jumped out. . .In front of us flames. In the air that smelled of burning flesh. . . We had arrived - at Birkenau, reception center for Auschwitz.

The cherished objects we had brought with us that far were left behind in the train and with them, at last, our illusions.

Every yard or so an SS man held his tommy gun trained on us. Hand-in-hand we followed the crowd. . . "Men to the left. Women to the right." Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short simple words. Yet that was the moment I was parted from my mother . . .For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and my sister moving to the right. Tzipora held mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair as though to protect her, while I walked on with my father and the other men. And I did not know that at that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held my hand. . .

LESSON PLAN 33

TOPIC: COMPARISON OF ADOLF HITLER AND JOSEPH STALIN

OBJECTIVES: The students will be able to:
1. Understand similarities and differences between Hitler and Stalin;
2. Work together in co-operative groups;
3. Help teach each other the material.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Students are paired-off within groups of four. One pair of students will read material on Adolf Hitler, and the other pair will read the material on Joseph Stalin. The students who have read about Hitler will teach the material to the other pair and they in turn will teach the first pair about Stalin. On the second day, give the students about ten minutes to review each other and then the pair who read Stalin will take a quiz on Hitler (Handout 33.1) and the pair who read about Hitler will take a quiz on Stalin (Handout 33.2). Add the quiz scores together for an entire group grade to encourage the students to do a good job at teaching each other. Also, give each pair a grade for answering the reading questions.

SUMMARY/APPLICATION: After the quizzes have been taken, the teacher can lead the students in a critical thinking discussion comparing Stalin and Hitler. Which man was more evil? What did they do for their respective countries? What kind of legacy did they leave? How are they remembered today? etc. By keeping the students in their groups, the teacher could use a "numbered heads together" to make sure that various students will take part in the discussion.

Submitted by Dave Tallman

HANDOUT 33.1

PARTNER'S QUIZ FOR STALIN

1. The pseudonym Stalin means: (a) the leader(b) strong (c) man of steel (d) superman (e) Caesar

2. Stalin's policy on agriculture was: (a) collectivization (b) five-year plan (c) privatization (d) all of these (e) none of these

3. Stalin's industrialization program was accomplished by: (a) forced labor (b) five-year plans (c) the proletariat (d) all of these

4. After World War II, the Soviet Union emerged as the world's: (a) largest (b) 2nd largest (c) 3rd largest (d) 4th largest industrial power

5. In August 1939, Hitler and Stalin signed their famous: (a) treaty (b) non-aggression pact (c) declaration of war (d) none of these

6. After the war was over, Stalin: (a) did (b) did not offer to relinquish control over any of the occupied territories

7. During the post war era, the: (a) cold war (b) hot war (c) detente (d) evil empire commenced between the Soviet Union and the United States

8. The outstanding characteristic of Stalin's personality was his: (a) consideration of sentiment (b) pity (c) ruthlessness (d) A and B (e) all of these

9. As a result of Stalin's purges, probably: (a) 5 (b) 10 (c) 15 (d) 20 (e) 25 million people died

10. In the future, Soviet satellite countries will probably: (a) be absorbed (b) be annexed (c) become independent (d) be maximized

HANDOUT 33.2

PARTNER'S QUIZ FOR HITLER

1. Hitler caused the deaths of some: (a) 5 million (b) 15 million (c) 25 million (d) 35 million people.

2. Which of the following is not true? During World War I Hitler (a) was a general in the German army (b) was wounded (c) received two medals for bravery (d) was left shocked and angered by the defeat.

3. Which of the following did not occur in 1923? (a) The Nazi Party attempted coup d'etat (b) Hitler was arrested (c) Hitler was tried for treason (d) Hitler was found not guilty.

4. Hitler gained the support of most Germans because (a) he reduced unemployment (b) he had opponents beaten and murdered (c) he generated economic recovery (d) A&C (e) All of these.

5. Which of the following territory did Germany gain under by Hitler made without going to war? (a) France (b) Rhineland (c) Austria (d) Czechoslovakia

6. The British and French hoped to buy "peace in our time" with an international pact known as the (a) Sudetenland Pact (b) Munich Pact (c) Peace of Paris (d) Berlin Agreement.

7. In August, 1939, Hitler signed a "non-aggression" pact with (a) Churchill (b) Roosevelt (c) Stalin (d) DeGaulle.

8. Hitler's publicly-stated goal was to kill every (a) Communist (b) Fascist (c) Jew (d) Black in the world.

9. Hitler's fame will last because (a) he is considered to be the most evil man in all of history (b) he is the principal instigator of World War II (c) his story is so bizarre and so interesting (d) all of these.

10. Hitler's actions upon future ages seem to be slight because (a) he failed to accomplish any of his major goals (b) he gained a huge amount of land (c) he was a passivist.

LESSON PLAN 34

TOPIC: STALIN AND WORLD WAR II

OBJECTIVE: Students will assess Stalin's role in World War II from a variety of sources.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Stalin has been both praised and condemned for his role during the Second World War.

1. Have students read the evaluation from Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (Handout 34.1).
   a. According to Deutscher, how did the Soviet people feel about Stalin in the aftermath of World War II? Were those feelings sincere, according to Deutscher?
   b. Why were the people willing to forgive Stalin for the cruelties of the 1930s?
   c. What actions or policies taken by Stalin before World War II helped to bring about Soviet victory by 1945?
2. Have students read the excerpt from Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech (Handout 34.2).
   a. How does Khrushchev's interpretation of Stalin's role in World War II differ from Deutscher's?
   b. Make a list of the mistakes of Stalin, as noted by Khrushchev. What errors did Stalin make before 1939? What errors did he commit during the war?
3. Which account is more plausible? Why?
4. Examine the political cartoon on Handout 34.3.
   a. Who are the two standing figures depicted in the cartoon?
   b. Why are they meeting?
   c. What is the contrast between the dialogue and the polite behavior meant to show?
   d. Which country might the figure on the ground represent?
   e. Would the cartoonist agree with the assessment of Deutscher or the assessment of Khrushchev, concerning Stalin's role in World War II?

SUMMARY: Was Stalin a hero or a villain to the Russian people in World War II?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 34.1

Stalin: A Political Biography
by Isaac Deutscher

On 24 June 1945 Stalin stood at the top of the Lenin Mausleum and reviewed a great victory parade of the Red Army which marked the fourth anniversary of Hitler's attack. The next day Stalin received the tribute of Moscow for the defence of the city in 1941. The after he was acclaimed as "Hero of the Soviet Union" and given the title of Generalissimo.

These were days of undreamt-of triumph and glory. Yet rarely had triumph and frustration been as close neighbours as they were in Russia in 1945; and never perhaps had any victory been so chequered with grandeur and misery as was this one.

Stalin now stood in the full blaze of popular recognition and gratitude. Those feelings were spontaneous, genuine, not engineered by official propagandists. Overworked slogans about the "achievements of the Stalinist era" now conveyed fresh meaning not only to young people, but to sceptics and malcontents of the older generation. The nation was willing to forgive Stalin even his misdeeds and to retain in its memory only his better efforts. Since nothing succeeds like success, even his errors and miscalculations, including those of 1939-41, now looked to many like acts of prudent statesmanship. Even the cruelties of the thirties appeared in a new light, as salutary operations to which the peoples of the Soviet Union owed their survival.

This new appreciation of Stalin's role did not spring only from afterthoughts born in the flush of victory. The truth was that the war could not have been won without the intensive industrialization of Russia, and of her eastern provinces in particular. Nor could it have been won without the collectivization of large numbers of farms. The *muzhik* of 1930, who had never handled a tractor or any other machine, would have been of little use in modern war. Collectivized farming, with its machine-tractor stations scattered all over the country, had been the peasants' preparatory school for mechanized warfare. The rapid raising of the average standard of education had also enabled the Red Army to draw on a considerable reserve of intelligent officers and men. "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us"—so Stalin had spoken exactly ten years before Hitler set out to conquer Russia. His words, when they were recalled now, could not but impress people as a prophecy brilliantly fulfilled, as a most timely call to action. And, indeed, a few year's delay in the modernization of Russia might have made all the difference between victory and defeat.

HANDOUT 34.2

Excerpt from Khruschev's De-Stalinization Speech

During the war and after the war, Stalin put forward the thesis that the tragedy which our nation experienced in the first part of the war was the result of the "unexpected" attack of the Germans against the Soviet Union. But, comrades this is completely untrue. . . .

Documents which have now been published show that by April 3, 1941 Churchill, through hes Ambassador to the USSR, Cripps, personally warned Stalin that the Germans had begun regrouping their armed units with the intent of attacking the Soviet Union. . . . However, Stalin took no heed of these warnings. What is more, Stalin ordered that no credence be given to information of this sort, in order not to provoke the initiation of military operations.

We must assert that information of this sort concerning the threat of German armed invasion of Soviet territory was coming in also from our own military and diplomatic sources; however, because the leadership was conditioned against such information, such data was dispatched with fear and assessed with reservation. . . .

Had our industry been mobilized properly and in time to supply the Army with the necessary material, our wartime losses would have been decidedly smaller. Such mobilization had not been, however started in time. And already in the first days of the war it became evident that our Army was badly armed, that we did not have enough artillery, tanks and planes to throw the enemy back. . . . Such was the armament situation. . . .

Very grievous consequences, especially in reference to the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-1941 because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations. During these years repressions were instituted against certain parts of military cadres beginning literally at the company and battalion commander level and extending to the higher military centers; during this time the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East was almost completely liquidated. . . .

Therefore the threatening danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the party by Stalin himself.

However, we speak not only about the moment when the war began, which led to serious disorganization of our Army and brought us severe losses. Even after the war began, the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin demonstrated, interfering with actual military operation, caused our Army serious damage. . . .

HANDOUT 34.3

Interpreting a Political Cartoon

Culver Pictures

Rendezvous

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LESSON PLAN 35

TOPIC: IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II ON SOVIET SOCIETY

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to understand the effects of the war upon the Russian people.

MOTIVATION: Teacher asks questions to lead students to personal involvement in an imagined calamity. For example, ask students how they react to our earthquakes. Ask them to contrast their reactions to those of an out-of-state visitor who might experience an earthquake for the first time. What would account for differences in reaction? This will lead to a later discussion of the line "Bear your cross and bow your head" as it applies to the Russian character.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will receive copies of "The Hawk," by Aleksandr Blok (Handout 35.1)
2. Teacher will identify the period as World War I.
3. Why does the poet say "War returns"?
4. Who is rebelling?
5. What does the hawk represent?
6. Why does the poet describe Russia as having an "ancient, tear-stained beauty"?
7. To what social class does the mother in the poem belong? How do you know?
8. What seems to be the attitude toward war in the poem?
9. What is the poet's outlook for the future?
10. Although this poem is about Russia in World War I, is it less valid or more valid for Russian experience during World War II? Explain.

SUMMARY: How have war and revolution over the years affected the Russian national psyche?

APPLICATION: (Suggestion for discussion or writing topic) What do you think the average Russian's attitude toward war is today?

Submitted by Dorothy Paige, Dan Scarborough, and Gene Moffitt

HANDOUT 35.1

The Hawk

Over the empty fields a black hawk hovers,
And circle after circle smoothly weaves.
In the poor hut, over her son in the cradle,
A mother grieves:
"There, suck my breast: there, grow and eat our bread,
And learn to bear your cross and bow your head."

Time passes. War returns. Rebellion rages.
The farms and villages go up in flame,
And Russia in her ancient tear-stained beauty,
Is yet the same,
Unchanged through all the ages. How long will
The mother grieve, and the hawk circle still?

Aleksandr Blok (1916)

LESSON PLAN 36

TOPIC: STALINISM AND DE-STALINIZATION

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to identify elements of the cult of personality of Stalin in a poem, and evidence of de-Stalinization in a later poem.

MOTIVATION: Ask students to think of individuals who have been almost deified in our society. Ask them to discuss the possible ill effects of such deification.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Students will receive copies of "A Word to Comrade Stalin" (Handout 36.1) by Mikhail V. Isakovsky and "The Heirs of Stalin" (Handout 36.2) by Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Students volunteer to read the poems aloud.
2. In what ways does Isakovsky's poem resemble a prayer of thanksgiving to a deity?
3. Why is the poet Isakovsky grateful to Stalin?
4. In Yevtushenko's poem, why does Stalin study the faces of the pallbearers?
5. Why would Yevtushenko want to triple the guard at the mausoleum?
6. When Yevtushenko refers to the past, what does he have in mind?
7. Who are the heirs of Stalin?
8. What is the historical reference in "We carried him from the mausoleum"?
9. According to Yevtushenko, what is on the minds of the heirs of Stalin?
10. How do you interpret Yevtushenko's concluding lines, "While Stalin's heirs walk this earth, Stalin, I fancy, still lurks in the mausoleum"?
11. Contrast the view of Stalin in the two poems.

SUMMARY:Make a list of the specific abuses of the Stalin era.

APPLICATION: What is being done under glasnost to prevent a recurrence of the abuses of the cult of personality?

Submitted by Gene Moffitt

HANDOUT 36.1

Mikhail Vasilyevich Isadovsky
b.1900

A Word To Comrade Stalin

I cannot stop it. It came by itself
It came without any call on my part.
So please allow me to tell You these words,
These simple words that rose up from my heart.

The day arrived. The time is now fulfilled.
At last the earth has found its peace again.
So I thank You for Your supreme exploit,
For Your great labors You have done for men.

Thank you- that through the years of our ordeal -
You helped us hold ground till the fight was through.
Though our belief in ourselves may have dimmed,
Comrade Stalin, we never doubted You.

You were our strength and guarantee the foe
Would not escape his punishment somehow.
So please allow me, Sir, to shake Your hand
Firmly - and bow before You this low bow.

For Your faithfulness to our Motherland,
For Your wisdom and honor, for the star
Of purity and truth of Your own life,
For Your being the great man that You are.

Thank You - that in those greatly troubled days -
In the Kremlin You thought about *our* worth,
That You are present everywhere with us,
That You live on this planet we call Earth.

Vladimir Markov and Merrill Sparks, eds., *Modern Russian Poetry* (Indianapolis:Bobbs-Merrill, 1966)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HANDOUT 36.2

The Heirs of Stalin

Mute was the marble. Mutely glimmered the glass.
Mute stood the sentries, bronzed by the breeze.
Thin wisps of smoke curled over the coffin. And breath seeped through the chinks
as they bore him out the mausoleum doors.

Slowly the coffin floated, grazing the fixed bayonets.
He also was mute—he also!—mute and dread.
Grimly clenching his embalmed fists,
just pretending to be dead, he watched from inside.

He wished to fix each pallbearer in his memory: young recruits from Ryazan and Kursk, so that later he might collect enough strength for a sortie, rise from the grave, and reach these unreflecting youths.
He was scheming. Had merely dozed off.
And I, appealing to our government, petition them to double, and treble, the sentries guarding this slab, and stop Stalin from ever rising again
and, with Stalin, the past.

I refer not to the past, so holy and glorious, of Turksib, and Magnitka, and the flag raised over Berlin.
By the past, in this case, I mean the neglect of the people's good, false charges, the jailing of innocent men.
We sowed our crops honestly.
Honestly we smelted metal, and honestly we marched, joining the ranks.
But he feared us. Believing in the great goal, he judged all means justified to that great end.

He was far-sighted.
Adept in the art of political warfare, he left many heirs behind on this globe.
I fancy there's a telephone in that coffin:
Stalin instructs Enver Hoxha.
From that coffin where else does the cable go!
No, Stalin has not given up.
He thinks he can cheat death.

We carried him from the mausoleum
But how removed Stalin's heirs from Stalin!
Some of his heirs tend roses in retirement,
thinking in secret their enforced leisure will not last.
Others, from platforms, even heap abuse on Stalin
but, at night, yearn for the good old days.

No wonder Stalin's heirs seem to suffer these days from heart trouble.
They, the former henchmen, hate this era of emptied prison camps
and auditoriums full of people listening to poets.
The Party discourages me from being smug.
"Why care?" some say, but I can't remain inactive.

While Stalin's heirs walk this earth, Stalin, I fancy, still lurks
in the mausoleum.

George Reavy, e.d., *The Poetry of Yevgeny Yevtushenko* (New York, 1965)

LESSON PLAN 37

TOPIC: SOLZHENITSYN'S CRITICISM OF STALINISM

OBJECTIVE: Students will gain a better understanding of the repressive Stalinist period through reading the writings of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Students will be able to identify the important events in Solzhenitsyn's personal life as well as his descriptions of the Stalinist labor camps.

MOTIVATION: Students will have the opportunity to read primary source materials, first hand accounts and fictional treatments. A comparison will be made between Stalin and a strict father. Students will be asked to share their personal experiences with a strict parent, particularly a strict father. Comparisons will also be made between Stalin and other dictators in history, for example, Hitler. Solzhenitsyn's experiences in Stalin's labor camps will be compared with the fate of the Jews in the Nazi concentration camps.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Students will be given a hand-out "Solzhenitsyn's Autobiographical Note," (Handout 37.1), which they can read and then discuss. The questions which the teacher would discuss with the students would be:

1. What were the "groundless political accusation" that led to Solzhenitsyn's arrest and imprisonment.
2. Why he was allowed to return from exile in 1956 and rehabilitated in 1957?
3. What were Solzhenitsyn's career aspirations? What type of work did he end up doing?
4. Besides the imprisonment, what other problems has Solzhenitsyn had to overcome in order to achieve recognition as a writer?

Depending on availability, a video could be shown, either the film "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovch" or the documentary "One Word of Truth."

SUMMARY: The material in this lesson would prepare students for an objective test on Stalin and Khrushchev and a comparison of the two periods in Soviet history.

Submitted by Bill Richardson

HANDOUT 37.1

Solzhenitsyn's Autobiographical Note

I was born at Kislovodsk on 11 December 1918. My father had studied philological subjects at Moscow University, but did not complete his studies, as he enlisted as a volunteer when war broke out in 1914. He became an artillery officer on the German front, fought throughout the war and died in the summer of 1918, six months before I was born. I was brought up by my mother, who worked as a shorthand-typist, in the town of Rostov on the Don, where I spent the whole of my childhood and youth, leaving the grammar school there in 1936. Even as a child, without any prompting from others, I wanted to be a writer and indeed I turned out a good deal of the usual juvenilia. In the 1930s I tried to get my writings published but I could not find anyone willing to accept my manuscripts. I wanted to acquire a literary education but in Rostov such an education that would suit my wishes was not to be obtained. To move to Moscow was not possible, partly because my mother was alone and in poor health and partly because of our modest circumstances. I therefore began to study at the department of mathematics at Rostov University, where it proved that I had a considerable aptitude for mathematics. But although I found it easy to learn this subject I did not feel that I wished to devote my whole life to it. Nevertheless it was to play a beneficial role in my destiny later on, and on at least two occasions it rescued me from death. For I would probably not have survived the eight years in camps if I had not, as a mathematician, been transferred to a so called *sharashka*, where I spent four years; and later, during my exile, I was allowed to teach mathematics and physics, which helped to ease my existence and make it possible for me to write. If I had had a literary education it is quite likely that I should not have survived these ordeals but would instead have been subjected to even greater pressures. Later on, it is true, I began to get some literary education as well; this was from 1939 to 1941, during which time, along with university studies in physics and mathematics, I also studied by correspondence at the Institute of History, Philosophy and Literature in Moscow.

In 1941, a few days before the outbreak of the war, I graduated from the department of physics and mathematics at Rostov University. At the beginning of the war, owing to weak health, I was detailed to serve as a driver of horsedrawn vehicles during the winter of 1941-2. Later, because of my mathematical knowledge, I was transferred to an artillery school, from which after a crash course I passed out in November 1942. Immediately after this I was put in command of an artillery position-finding company and in this capacity served without a break right in the front line until I was arrested in February 1945. This happened in East Prussia, a region which is linked with my destiny in a remarkable way. As early as 1937 , as a first-year student, I chose to write a descriptive essay on 'The Samsonov Disaster' of 1914 in East Prussia and studied material on this; and in 1945 I myself went to this area (at the time of writing, autumn 1970, the book *August 1914* has just been completed).

I was arrested on the grounds of what the censorship had found during the years 1944-5 in my correspondence with a school friend, mainly because of certain disrespectful remarks about Stalin, although we referred to him in misguided terms. As a further basis for the 'charge' there were used the drafts of stories and reflections which had been found in my map case. These, however, were not sufficient for a 'prosecution' and in July 1945 I was 'sentenced' in my absence, in accordance with a procedure then frequently applied, after a resolution by the OSO (the Special Committee of the NKVD), to eight years in a detention camp (at that time this was considered a mild sentence).

I served the first part of my sentence in several correctional work camps of mixed types (this kind of camp is described in the play *The Tenderfoot and the Tramp*). In 1946, as a mathematician, I was transferred to the group of scientific research institutes of the MVD-MGB.* I spent the middle period of my sentence in such 'SPECIAL PRISONS' (*The First Circle*). In 1950 I was sent to the newly established Special Camps which were intended only for political prisoners. In such a camp in the town of Ekibastuz in Kazakhstan (*One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*) I worked as a miner, a bricklayer and a foundryman. There I contracted a tumour which was operated on, but the condition was not cured (its character was not established until later on).

One month after I had served the full term of my eight-year sentence there came, without any new judgement and even without a 'resolution from the OSO', an administrative decision to the effect that I was not to be released but EXILED FOR LIFE to Kok-Terek (southern Kazakhstan). This measure was not directed specially against me but was a very usual procedure at that time. I served this exile from March 1953 (on 5 March, when Stalin's death was made public, I was allowed for the first time to go without an escort) until June 1956. Here my cancer had developed rapidly and at the end of 1953 I was very near death. I was unable to eat, I could not sleep and was severely affected by the poisons form the tumour. However, I was able to go to a cancer clinic at Tashkent, where during 1954 I was cured (*The Cancer Ward*, *Right Hand*). During all the years of exile I taught mathematics and physics in a primary school and during my hard and lonely existence I wrote prose in secret (in the camp I could only write down poetry form memory). I managed, however, to keep what I had written and to take it with me to the European part of the country, where in the same way I continued, as far as the outer world was concerned, to occupy myself with teaching and, in secret, to devote myself to writing, at first in the Vladimir district (Matryona's Home) and afterwards in Ryazan.

During all the years until 1961 not only was I CONVINCED that I should never see a single line of mine in print in my life-time but also I scarcely dared allow any of my close acquaintances to read anything I had written because I feared that this would become known. Finally, at the age of 42, this secret authorship began to wear me down. The most difficult thing of all to bear was that I could not get my works judged by people with literary training. In 1961, after the 22nd Congress of the USSR Communist Party and Tvardovsky's speech at this, I decided to emerge and to offer *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*.

Such an emergence seemed then to me, and not without reason, to be very risky because it might lead to the loss of my manuscripts and to my own destruction. But on that occasion things turned out successfully and after protracted efforts A.T. Tvardovsky was able to print my novel one year later. The printing of my work was, however, stopped almost immediately and the authorities stopped both my plays and (in 1964) the novel *The First Circle*, which in 1965 was seized together with my papers from the past years. During these months it seemed to me that I had committed an unpardonable mistake by revealing my work prematurely and that because of this I should not be able to carry it to a conclusion.

It is almost always impossible to evaluate at the time events which you have already experienced and to understand their meaning with the guidance of their effects. All the more unpredictable and surprising to us will be the course of future events.

* Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of State Security

LESSON PLAN 38

TOPIC: AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE COLD WAR AS SEEN THROUGH POLITICAL CARTOONS

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Trace the major issues in the Cold War through political cartoons;
2. Interpret and analyze the meaning of political cartoons.

MOTIVATION: The teacher will project on the overhead a current political cartoon and discuss the value of expressing political opinion through the use of cartoons.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Teacher will distribute political cartoons contained in Handouts 38.1 and 38.2.
1. Match the cartoons on Handouts 38.1 and 38.2 with the following events in the Cold War:
   a. Marshall Plan
   b. Soviet failure to provide free elections in Eastern Europe
   c. Truman Doctrine
   d. Berlin Blockade
2. Which cartoon offers the least biased presentation of the Cold War? Explain why you think that account is least biased.
3. Which cartoon offer the most biased account?
4. In the cartoon, "Everything's O.K.—I'm Backing Up," what are the deals with Stalin that are referred to?
5. Why are political cartoons useful devices in expressing opinions? In what way are political cartoons misleading?

SUMMARY: Students will choose one cartoon presented in the handouts, and do research to offer a view that contrasts with the view depicted in the cartoon.

APPLICATION: Students are assigned to draw their own political cartoon depicting their opinion of a current political issue.

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 38.1

THE SPEAKER'S PLATFORM

But What Part Shall the Meek Inherit?

Charles G. Werner. *The Indianapolis Star*, 1949.

"EVERYTHING'S O.K.—I'M BACKING UP!"

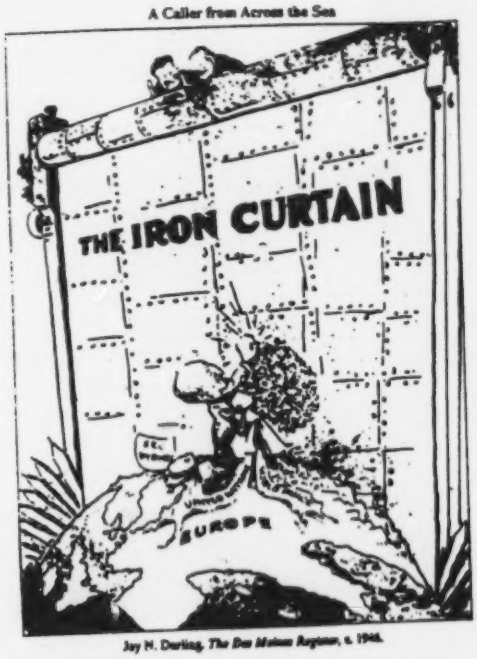
Step on it, Doc!

Roy Justus. *The Minneapolis Star*, 1947.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HANDOUT 38.2

A Caller from Across the Sea



Jay N. Darling, *The Des Moines Register*, c. 1946.

"Time To Bridge That Gulch."

V FOR VICTORY

SOONER OR LATER

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LESSON PLAN 39

TOPIC: THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

OBJECTIVE: Students will identify the leading causes of the Cold War from both an American and Soviet perspective.

MOTIVATION: Students shall have read about post-World War II American-Soviet relations prior to this lesson. At the beginning of class students will be placed in groups of four to participate in round table activity. They will have five minutes to list all the causes which contributed to the emergence of the Cold War. Afterward, each group would be asked to share their responses with the rest of the class.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Round-table discussion. See motivation.
2. Students will read excerpts from Churchill's 1946 speech and Henry A. Wallace's "Fight for Peace" speech. (Handouts 39.1 and 39.2)
3. Students will be presented questions regarding the speeches read in class for class discussion. The following pertinent questions will be discussed:
   a) Why has Churchill seen a "shadow" fallen upon the Allied victory?
   b) What did Churchill mean by the term "Iron Curtain"?
   c) What problems appear with the Soviet dominated Polish government?
   d) What is Wallace's view of American involvement in Eastern Europe?
   e) What type of competition does Wallace believe is needed between the Soviet Union and United States?
4. Henry Wallace ran for president of the U.S. in 1948. Would you have voted for him? Why? Why not?

SUMMARY: Have students write a description or journalist report regarding the origins of the Cold War.

APPLICATION: Students will compare the era of the Cold War with the present era in U.S. Soviet relations. The plight of Eastern Europe during the Cold War will be compared with the present desire for social change that has been fostered in the area today, and how such changes have impacted Soviet-American relations.

Submitted by Donna More

HANDOUT 39.1

Winston Churchill's
Speech in Fulton, Missouri, 1946

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. . .

We understand the Russians need to be secure on her western frontiers from all renewal of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. Above all we welcome constant, frequent, and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides to the Atlantic. It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe. . . .

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in on form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place.

HANDOUT 39.2

Henry A. Wallace's
The Fight for Peace, 1946

Make no mistake about it—another war would hurt the United States many times as much as the last war. We cannot rest in the assurance that we invented the atom bomb—and therefore that this agent of destruction will work best for us. He who trusts in the atom bomb will sooner or later perish by the atom bomb—or something worse. . . .

The real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia. On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States. . . .

Russian ideas of social-economic justice are going to govern nearly a third of the world. Our ideas of free-enterprise democracy will govern much of the rest. The two ideas will endeavor to prove which can deliver the most satisfaction to the common man in their respective areas of political dominance. But by mutual agreement, this competition should be put on a friendly basis and the Russians should stop conniving against us in certain areas of the world just as we should stop scheming against them in other parts of the world. Let the results of the two systems speak for themselves. . . . .

Under friendly, peaceful competition the Russian world and the American world will gradually become more alike. The Russians will be forced to grant more and more of the personal freedoms; and we shall become more and more absorbed with the problems of social-economic justice.

LESSON PLAN 40

TOPIC: CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE COLD WAR

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Distinguish between the traditional and revisionist interpretations on the origins of the Cold War;
2. Evaluate the merits of each interpretation.
3. Analyze the current relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

MOTIVATION: Project Handout 40.1 on an overhead. Ask students the following:
1. Why is the figure in the cartoon unhappy?
2. Is history a study of "what happened," or is it a study of the historian's interpretation of "what happened"? Explain.

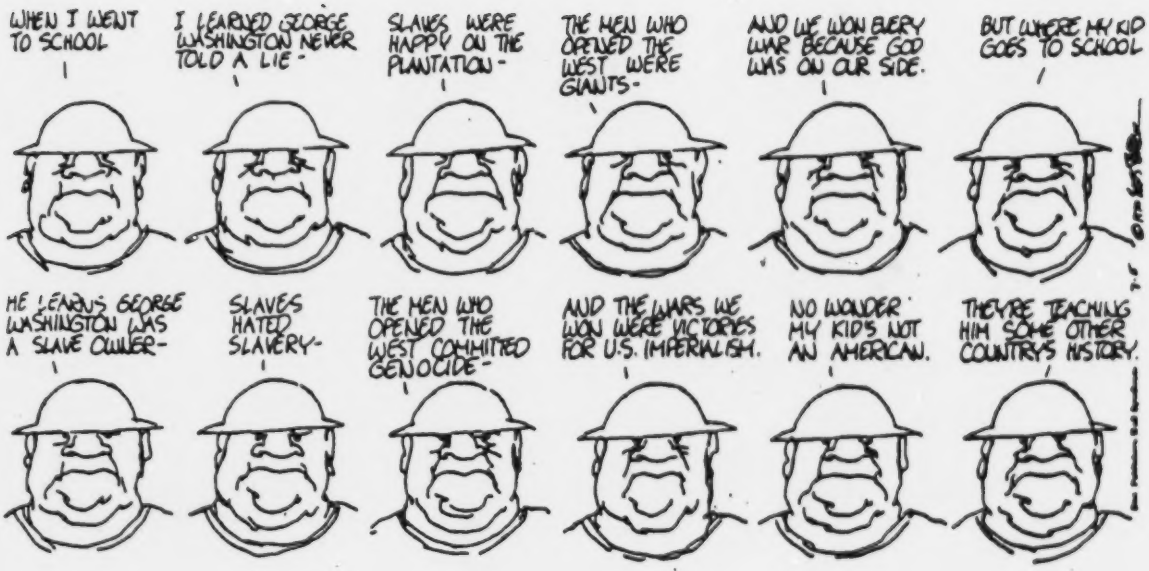
LESSON DEVELOPMENT: The historical interpretation of the past is not set in stone; our knowledge and understanding of the past often changes over time, as new evidence is uncovered. Also, the passage of time might put a different perspective on past events, so that historians often revise early interpretations. This is particularly true for the way American historians have interpreted the origins of the Cold War.
1. Distribute Handout 40.2, "Conflicting Interpretations of the Cold War," and have students answer the following questions:
   a. Which argument places primary responsibility for the Cold War on the United States? Which argument blames the Soviet Union for starting the Cold War?
   b. In what way does Argument B agree with Argument A? How does Argument B agree with Argument C?
   c. Argument A refers to "aggressive and expansionist actions of Stalin and the Soviet Union." What specific examples can you offer to support this contention?
   d. What evidence can be cited to prove that until 1947, the U.S. foreign policy was passive and American leaders sought harmony and cooperation with the Soviet Union, as noted under Argument A?
   e. What evidence can be cited to support the contention listed under Argument C, that "the United States used economic instruments to serve political ends"?
   f. Was there an "American empire," as noted under Argument C? If so, where?
2. Distribute Handout 40.3, "New Trust Infusing U.S.-Soviet Relations."
   a. What positive developments in U.S.-Soviet relations are cited in the news article?
   b. How has Soviet foreign policy changed under Mikhail Gorbachev?
   c. Why are the chances for improved relations better under Gorbachev than under Brezhnev?
   d. Is the Cold War over? Explain your answer.

SUMMARY: Ask students to write a brief essay, "Who Started the Cold War"; they should be instructed to list at least three specific examples to support their thesis.

APPLICATION: Recent events in the USSR and in eastern Europe in 1989 have brought many observers to the conclusion that the Cold War has ended. Do you agree with that assessment?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 40.1


WHEN I WENT TO SCHOOL
I LEARNED GEORGE WASHINGTON NEVER TOLD A LIE -
SLAVES WERE HAPPY ON THE PLANTATION -
THE MEN WHO OPENED THE WEST WERE GIANTS -
AND WE WON EVERY WAR BECAUSE GOD WAS ON OUR SIDE.
BUT WHERE MY KID GOES TO SCHOOL
HE LEARNS GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS A SLAVE OWNER -
SLAVES HATED SLAVERY -
THE MEN WHO OPENED THE WEST COMMITTED GENOCIDE -
AND THE WARS WE WON WERE VICTORIES FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM.
NO WONDER MY KID'S NOT AN AMERICAN.
THEY'RE TEACHING HIM SOME OTHER COUNTRY'S HISTORY.
© 1970 Jules Feiffer

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HANDOUT 40.2

Conflicting Interpretation of the Cold War

Argument A

1. The aggressive and expansionist actions of Stalin and the Soviet Union caused the breakup of the Grand Alliance and consequently the Russians were assigned responsibility for the cold war.

2. In the immediate postwar period, specifically until 1947, the United States' foreign policy was passive and American leaders sought continued harmony and cooperation in Soviet-American relations.

3. When confronted with communist aggression the United States reacted in defense of democracy, the free world, and free men.

4. The United States sought no territorial aggrandizement and was not motivated by pernicious self-interest. America was an innocent in world affairs.

5. In the aftermath of World War II the United States was committed to a policy of universalism, a belief that "all nations shared a common interest in all the affairs of the world." In other words, American leaders rejected "a sphere of influence perception of the world where a great power would be assured by the other great powers of an acknowledged predominance in its own area of special interest."

Argument B

1. The Soviet Union and Stalin were not solely responsible for the cold war.

2. American foreign policy was neither passive nor simply reactive prior to 1947. The United States had its own economic and strategic agenda, which it actively, if not always successfully, pursued.

3. To explain the cold war as an American defense of "free men" in the face of communist aggression does violence to the complexity and subtlety of the historical record.

4. The policies of the United States under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations were not those of an innocent, disinterested power intent upon international justice.

5. The United States' commitment to universalism was haphazard at best, and at times hypocritical in view of the "double standard" apparent in American concern for protecting its sphere of influence in Latin America.

Argument C

1. The United States used economic instruments to secure political ends.

2. Stalin had no ideological blueprint for communist world revolution. He was an opportunist who exploited any opening to advance Russian national influence.

3. The United States government did at times exaggerate the external danger of Soviet communism in order to achieve certain internal political objectives.

4. There was an American empire, although it was primarily a defensive empire, erected by invitation and not through coercion.

HANDOUT 40.3

New Trust Infusing U.S.-Soviet Relations

■ **Diplomacy:** 'I think we have ended the Cold War,' a Soviet official said after a recent meeting.

By MICHAEL PARKS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LOS ANGELES TIMES FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989 ★

"We greatly underestimated Ronald Reagan when he came to power," Leonid I. Dobrokhotov, a foreign-policy specialist at the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee headquarters, said in an interview. "He called us an 'evil empire,' and he wanted to launch 'Star Wars.' But then came his embrace with Mikhail Gorbachev in Red Square.

"Ronald Reagan turned out to be a historic figure. He reflected a revolution in the American national consciousness that matched a revolution in our national consciousness under Mikhail Gorbachev."

□

Even hard-bitten U.S. veterans of the Cold War are beginning to acknowledge the positive impact on Soviet-American relations of developments here and in Eastern Europe.

"These are people we can be friends with," a U.S. diplomat, who prides himself on his no-nonsense realism, said after the Jackson Hole meeting. "There is no objective reason for us to be at loggerheads if they follow through on what they say their policies are.

"The problem in the past, over four decades, was the way in which they defined their national security interests, the way they forced their system on others, the way they threatened the United States and its allies. Here, we see changes, real changes."

Andrei V. Nikiforov, editor of the influential Soviet journal USA, said, "Friendship is not certain, but the confrontation is ended."

In the view of Nikiforov and other Soviet specialists on relations with the United States, Moscow and Washington are developing a new relationship in which they recognize that being nuclear superpowers does not make them enemies, that having different political and economic systems need not bring confrontation.

"Differences will continue on a lot of issues, but the ideological confrontation is over," Nikiforov said in an interview. "That itself is a historic shift of immense importance for our two countries and for those around us.

"We now act, in fact, from the premise that we have common interests with the United States on many issues, that they converge on most others and in other instances they run in parallel. Individual problems remain from the era of confrontation, it is true, but they are not the obstacles they once were."

For the Soviet Union, the new relationship with the United States is a result of what Moscow calls its "new political thinking," a radically different approach to foreign relations and international issues that has come with *glasnost* and *perestroika*, Gorbachev's programs of openness and reorganization.

"Some of the old-timers left at the Foreign Ministry wander up and down the halls, shaking their heads and mumbling to themselves about all the changes," a ministry official said. "When an enemy becomes a partner, even a friend, it can be difficult to keep one's bearings, but that must be true in the State Department and the Pentagon, too.

"What is changing is not just our relations with the United States or the West, but our whole understanding of the world, of our place in it, of our own country and of ourselves," he said. "And I think that the United States—the foreign-policy Establishment, not the people—is probably pushed to keep up."

Americans, by and large, are optimistic but still cautious about the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They believe that the changes should be encouraged but that the United States should be careful in reducing its defenses, according to a survey in mid-November by the Los Angeles Times Poll.

Two-thirds of those surveyed said Soviet foreign-policy goals have changed under Gorbachev, and a third thought they have changed quite radically. More than half said they believed that the Soviet Union "wants to live peacefully with the rest of the world," although a third feared that Moscow still wants "to expand its power over other nations."

A Times Poll four years ago found, by contrast, that half the American public agreed with President Ronald Reagan's old characterization of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

The Soviet Union feels itself pressed to prove that its new policies are firm and will not change, thereby strengthening the new relationship that it is seeking with the United States.

"We are becoming reliable partners because we have renounced many foreign-policy developments that happened in the past and proved wrong, that contradicted reality and the interests of the world community," Yevgeny M. Primakov, a candidate member of the Communist Party's ruling Politburo and chairman of one of the Supreme Soviet's two chambers, said on his return from a recent tour of the United States. "We will not change, and we will continue our policy."

This is an important issue. Both Moscow and Washington remember with regret how hopes were raised during the brief East-West detente of the early 1970s, only to be dashed as both new and old problems grew faster than they could be resolved in the new relationship.

What little remained of that rapprochement was crushed with the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan in December, 1979.

"We had thaws before, in the '50s, then in the '70s, but they lacked sufficient basis to make them irreversible," foreign-policy expert Dobrokhotov said.

He explained:

"In the '70s, under Leonid Brezhnev, there was a certain renaissance of Stalinism in the Soviet Union—without all the horrors, but nevertheless Stalinism in our psychology, in internal politics and in such foreign actions as Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and so forth. . . .

□

"We were trying in the 1970s to remove the foreign-policy link from the overall complex of our fundamental orientation, to be liberal in foreign policy while being Stalinist in all other things. That contributed to an inevitable collapse of what we called detente."

A U.S. diplomat who was deeply involved in Soviet-American relations both here and in Washington during that period, as well as in the present improvement, agreed with Dobrokhotov's assessment.

"We shared this delusion that we could do business without there being a real change in this society, this system," he said. "We were anxious for peace, we wanted detente, we thought it could be done.

"But there was not even a pretense at changing the system then. There was no internal change; in fact, there was even a tightening. And they said, quite openly, that the ideological struggle was to be intensified.

"Now, there is genuine change, and it is quite remarkable," the diplomat added. "Their policies are changing, and these are not the superficial, tactical changes of the 1970s but something quite real."

Those changes have already affected significantly the traditional elements of the "Soviet-American agenda"—arms control, human rights, regional conflicts, bilateral issues and global issues.

To get movement on arms-control issues, Gorbachev has been willing to concede to the United States what had been critical points for the Soviet Union in the hope that this would then be matched.

"Once you realize that true security lies in the overall relationship, the importance of this or that weapons system or this or that level of armament and manpower becomes much less important," commented Andrei V. Kortunov, a foreign-policy specialist at the Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada. "There has to be reciprocity, mutuality, a response if the momentum is to build, but we do not see single issues as decisive."

Disarmament, once mostly a slogan, is the new focus of Soviet efforts on arms control, and progress on this issue will be the basic measure that Moscow uses to assess the overall relationship with Washington.

"Arms control is central," Dobrokhotov said. "The change in our relationship should be reflected in reduced levels of armament, and disarmament should characterize our relations in the future. That will make further progress easier on other issues, too."

With Gorbachev's efforts to democratize the Soviet Union and a new commitment to protect civil liberties here, human rights as an element of the Soviet-American dialogue has changed greatly.

Instead of U.S. demands for free emigration, there are Soviet questions about Western willingness to accept the more than 15,000 people leaving each month.

"The whole character of the dialogue has changed," a U.S. official who has followed human rights in the Soviet Union remarked. "We still ask about refuseniks because some people are still denied the right to emigrate, but they point out how many, many more are leaving, and ask, 'Where are the visas?'

"We bring up those imprisoned on criminal charges for political reasons, but we sometimes have to admit that it's largely a matter of perception. We ask about the incarceration of dissidents in psychiatric hospitals, and they invite us in to inspect and ask for our advice."

There is a similar give-and-take on regional conflicts, several of which have been defused recently through U.S.-Soviet efforts. While Washington's primary interest is Central America—and Bush has declared his intention to raise it with Gorbachev this weekend—Moscow puts its priority on Afghanistan, where anti-government rebels continue to receive U.S. aid.

The newest elements on the Soviet-American agenda are global issues that range from environmental protection to joint efforts to combat international terrorism. These elements reflect the willingness of Moscow and Washington to work together on issues that once were contentious or were approached from sharply different ideological perspectives.

LESSON PLAN 41

TOPIC: COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONS IN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

OBJECTIVES:
1. Students will learn the similarities between the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of 1949.
2. Students will learn the differences between the same revolutions.
3. Students will work in cooperative learning structures (jigsaw method) and demonstrate appropriate communication skills.

MOTIVATION: Have the students write responses to the following three statements (responses should be true/false with an explanation):
1. Before their revolutions China and Russia had similar experiences and beliefs.
2. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions took similar paths.
3. After their revolutions the newly formed communist governments of China and the USSR had similar policies.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Have students respond to board statements, first in writing then in a class discussion.
2. Divide the class into three groups. Designate each group a time period (prerevolutionary, revolutionary, postrevolutionary), and give them the statements that compare the two revolutions. Have the group decide whether each statement reveals a similarity or a difference (note: it is possible for a statement to do both) As they work the teacher monitors the groups.
3. After students have discussed their statements put them in groups of three (one student from each phase). Have students disseminate what they learned in their other groups.
4. Distribute Handout 41.1, "China and the Soviet Union: A Comparative Model." Have students compare their responses to the three statements with the information contained in this handout.

EVALUTION: Fill in the chart on Handout 41.2.

APPLICATION: Write an essay on "Are all communist revolutions in the world the same."

HANDOUT 41.1

China and the Soviet Union: A Comparative Model

The following statements are taken from *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol.14, 1981. The article is by David Kowalewski and it is entitled "China and the Soviet Union: a comparative Model for Analysis."

PREREVOLUTIONARY:

1. "China had an international superiority complex. Russia, a inferiority complex. . .Russia had serious doubts about her international importance."
2. "The Confucian ethic conferred high status on scholars and peasants but low status on urban merchants and artisans. . .This is in sharp contrast to Russian life."
3. "Organized religion was stronger in Russia than in China." And became "an agent of social control."
4. "Industrialization was a higher priority in Russia than in China."
5. "Although Russia was the object of some Western European investment, she suffered few of the indignities at the hands of Western imperialism experienced in China's 'Century of Humiliation'."

REVOLUTIONARY:

1. "The Bolsheviks took power and then made a revolution; the Chinese Communist Party made a revolution and then took power."
2. "The peasantry played a much more profound role in the Chinese Revolution than in the Russian Revolution."
3. "China had the prospect of Soviet aid, while the Bolsheviks felt internationally isolated."
4. "Military forces played a much more influential role in revolutionary policy-making in China than in the Soviet Union."
5. In China "local military bases wield considerable power. . .Such a tradition was absent in Russia."

POSTREVOLUTIONARY:

1. "The Chinese masses. . .were deserving of carrying out the purge. The Soviet Party elite. . .would purify it (the Revolution.)"
2. "The Peoples Liberation Army has greater influence in political decision making than the Red Army."
3. "The Soviet economy is more centralized than the Chinese," and "priority was put on urban development," while "priority is placed on the Chinese countryside."
4. "The egalitarianism of China has been as much noted as the inegalitarianism of the Soviet Union."
5. "Soviet foreign policy has been highly aggressive; China's, primarily defensive."

HANDOUT 41.2

Name_____
Date_____Period_____

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONS

Directions: Fill in the chart.

PHASE	DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSSIA & CHINA	SIMILARITIES
Pre-Revolutionary		
Revolutionary		
Post-Revolutionary		

LESSON PLAN 42

TOPIC: CHINA AND THE USSR COMPARED

OBJECTIVE: Students will have a basic understanding of the differences/similarities in the growth and development of the political systems in the U.S.S.R. and China.

MOTIVATION:
1. Distribute History/Timeline material contrasting China and the U.S.S.R. (Handout 42.1)
2. Teacher lecture (outline)

I. U.S.S.R.
- A. 1917 Revolution(s)
- B. 1918-1920: Civil War
- C. 1921-1928: Lenin (d. 1924) NEP, relative openness
- D. 1928-1953: Stalin
  1. Five Year Plans
  2. Great Purges
  3. 1939: Nazi-Soviet Pact
  4. 1941-1945: Great Patriotic War (W.W. II)
- E. 1953-64: Khrushchev period
- F. 1964-82: Brezhnev era
- G. 1983-present: Andropov, Chernenko, Gorbachev
- H. Perestroika; Glasnost

II. China
- A. 1945-1949: Civil War
- B. 1949: Revolution; communists assume power under Mao tse-tung
- C. 1949-1976 "Mao Era"
  1. Five/Seven Year plans
  2. Great Leap Forward
  3. Cultural Resolution
- D. Death of Mao, post-Mao Era
- E. June, 1989 Democracy movement

SUMMARY: Students will list (write-out) four areas showing differences/similarities in development political systems of Russia/China.

APPLICATION: Will the two communist powers follow different paths? Explain. What is the current Russia/China relationship?

Submitted by Mary Stebbins

HANDOUT 42.1

CHINA

"A revolution," said Mao Zedong, "is not a dinner party. It is an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." As he savored victory, Mao was about to prove that the violence does not end once the revolution is over. As this timeline shows, an ancient civilization was about to experience traumatic change.

1949: After a four-year civil war, communists, under leader Mao Zedong, emerge victorious. Anti-communists flee to Taiwan, an island off the coast.

1952: Communists seize private businesses.

1953: Mao's first Five Year Plan. Farms and other lands are seized by the state. Mao orders development of heavy industries. A half million landlords are shot.

1956: Failure of Five Year Plan is clear. Mao announces "Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign, invites critics to speak openly. But when they do, many are jailed.

1957-58: Mao orders "Great Leap Forward," a plan for "instant industrialization." In addition, farmers are ordered to work on 24,000 rural communes.

1959: In an attempt to spur food production, Mao allows farmers small private plots.

1965: Pursuing ideal of a classless communist society. Mao abolishes all ranks in the military.

1966: Mao launches "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Millions who are deemed too educated, not sufficiently communist, or disloyal to Mao are jailed or executed. Teenage "Red Guards" enforce Mao's orders.

1968-69: cultural Revolution ends: Red Guards are sent back to school or to rural areas.

1976 April: Deng Xiaoping, a critic of Mao, is fired from his high-level Communist Party post.

1976 September: Mao dies.

1978: Deng becomes China's leader.

1982: Deng purges Communist Party Central Committee of the most fervent "Maoist" communists, ends rigid central planning, and pursues a more free and open society. But, as China's youth embrace western music and fads, many older Chinese fear that China is changing too quickly.

SOVIET UNION

V.I. Lenin, father of Russian communism, saw the revolution as an answer to many old problems. "Due to the revolution," he said, "Russia's political system has caught up with the advanced countries in a few months." As the following timeline shows, that was not quite how things turned out.

1917 February: Czar Nicholas II of Russia is overthrown. A non-communist government is set up.

1917 October: Bolsheviks, a communist group led by Lenin, seize power and create the Soviet Union.

1918-20: Civil War. Lenin's "Red" communists defeat "White" anti-communists.

1921: With the economy in ruins, Lenin orders a New Economic Policy (NEP). Free enterprise, including small businesses, is permitted. Living standards rise.

1924: Lenin dies. Josef Stalin grabs power.

1928: NEP ends. All property reverts to state ownership. All economic decisions are made by the Communist Party. Five Year Plans begin.

1934-38: Stalin, fearful of "enemies,' arrests and executes millions of Soviet citizens. After World II (1939-45), in which 20 million Soviets die, Soviets seize control of most of Eastern Europe.

1953: Stalin dies. Nikita Khrushchev emerges from a three-way power struggle to become Soviet leader.

1956: Khrushchev makes a secret speech before the Communist Party Congress in which he attacks the cruelties of Stalin's rule. This is later seen as a first step in lessening the terror and totalitarian rule of the communist Party. At the same time, he begins a massive buildup of the Soviet military.

1964: Khrushchev is outed and replaced by Leonid Brezhnev. Though he begins a process of detente, or better relations with the U.S. and other nations, Brezhnev rules during a period of economic stagnation and official corruption. Living standards fall.

1985: Mikhail Gorbachev, lawyer and agricultural expert, becomes General Secretary of the communist Party. He immediately begins a series of economic and social reforms. These include free elections, the right to run a private business, and a reduction of communist Party control. Many compare it to the NEP period.

LESSON PLAN 43

TOPIC: THE SINO/SOVIET SPLIT

OBJECTIVE: Students will have a basic understanding of causes leading to conflict/tensions/ disagreements between the U.S.S.R. and China and how these countries are dealing with these problems.

MOTIVATION:
1. Why were the "Revolution(s)" of Russia so different from the growth and development of communism in China?
2. To understand the causes of the Sino/Soviet split .

LESSON DEVELOPMENT: Twenty-five to thirty minute teacher lecture followed up by student group activity.
Teacher lecture could be organized as follows:

China
1. Civil War occurs before Revolution, 1945-1949
2. Communism established 1949
3. Peasant based
4. Revolution from below
5. Cult of "Maoism"
6. Hostility/jealousy/distrust
7. Soviet technicians/advisors sent home
8. Growing border disputes
9. China again closes up during Cultural Revolution
10. Death of Mao: beginnings of rapprochement and re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia
11. Gorbachev visits China,May,1989
12. June,1989 Democracy movement in China

U.S.S.R.
1. Revolution(s) occur 1917
2. Though Bolsheviks are in power, Civil War continues 1918-1921
3. Urban based
4. Revolution from above
5. Cult of "Stalinism"
6. Russians look at Chinese as mere peasants, "communists come lately"

EVALUATION: For the remaining 20-25 minutes of class students will be divided into groups. Each group will develop five study questions based on the teacher lecture.

APPLICATION: What is the current Russia/China relationship? What has brought about a lessening of hostilities between these communist super-powers? How will resent developments (China: June, 1989 democracy movement; Russia: perestroika, glasnost, strikes, ethnic, and nationality disputes) affect the relationship between China and the U.S.S.R.? What are the implications for the U.S.A.?

Submitted by Mary Stebbins

LESSON PLAN 44

TOPIC: THE REFORM TRADITION IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET HISTORY

OBJECTIVE: At the completion of instruction students will have an understanding of the origins of reform movements in Russian and Soviet history. (The length of the lesson is 3 to 5 days and is designed to be used at the completion of a unit on Russian and Soviet history.)

MOTIVATION: Students will brainstorm the definition of "reform." The teacher will supply the students with a list and a cursory review of the major reforms in Russian and Soviet history form the era of Peter the Great to Gorbechev's perestroika and glasnost. In a class discussion, students will draw inferences about the origins of reform in Russian and Soviet history.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. Teacher will divide the class into groups of 4 or 5 students each.
2. Half of the groups will defend the proposition that reform in Russia and the Soviet Union has traditionally been imposed upon the masses form above (i.e., from the ruling elite), the assumption being that Russian and Soviet society is a society of non-dynamic, passive subjects. The other half of the groups will be defend the proposition that reform in Russia and the Soviet Union is the result of social-political pressures from below (i.e., from the masses). Here the assumption is that Russian and Soviet citizens are dynamic and reactive; they are affected by social, political, and economic forces and react to them by initiating pressure within society for social reform.
3. Each group will be given a set of articles and readings from which to build their argument.
4. The groups will prepare a written defense of their position, citing supports from the set of articles and readings. Each group will use the same source material.
5. The groups supporting the same proposition will exchange papers and compare conclusions, draw up a common defense of their proposition.
6. Fish Bowl Discussion: Each of the original groups will pick a vocal member to represent them in an oral discussion circle. This circle will contain one empty chair for any other member to express his/her view on the topic. In order for a person to be able to speak, he/she must sit in the vacant chair, vacate it when finished, or when tapped by another member of the class. The remainder to the class will be arranged in an outer circle so that they may hear and take part in the discussion following the prescribed rules.

SUMMARY: Teacher evaluation of the student discussion and written work.

APPLICATION: Teacher will summarize major reform movements in contemporary American society and class discussion of their origins within American society.

Submitted by Fred Steeby

LESSON PLAN 45

TOPIC: GORBACHEV AND THE POLICY OF PERESTROIKA

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Identify at least five reasons behind the current reform movement in the Soviet Union;
2. Evaluate the effectiveness of perestroika by examining conditions in the Soviet Union in 1989.

MOTIVATION: What do the following jokes reveal about the Soviet economy in the 1980s?

A customer enters a large food store in the Soviet Union and asks at a counter, "Have you got any caviar?" "Sorry," says the clerk, "we are the department where there is no meat. Over there is the department where they have no caviar."

A Soviet housewife says: "Since we have a planned economy, whenever there is a shortage of ham, there's a shortage of eggs at the same time."

Soviet worker: "We have a wonderful arrangement in the Soviet Union; we workers pretend to work and the government pretends to pay us."

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. In 1986 he announced his policy of radical reform, called perestroika.
2. Distribute Handout 45.1, *Perestroika* by Mikhail Gorbachev.
   a. Based on this article, what do you think is meant by the term, "perestroika"?
   b. What developments in the latter half of the 1970s indicated that the Soviet economy was in trouble?
   c. What are the reasons for the shortage of goods in the USSR?
   d. Why does Gorbachev describe the economic situation as "absurd"?
   e. What does Gorbachev mean when he writes "the automobile was not going where the one at the steering wheel thought it was going"?
3. Distribute Handout 45.2, "1990 Appears Crucial Year for Gorbachev."
   a. Why does the author think that time is running out for Gorbachev?
   b. What evidence does the writer give to demonstrate that problems in the USSR have increased since introduction of perestroika?
   c. What reasons are offered to explain why perestroika has not yet solved economic problems in the Soviet Union?

SUMMARY: Have the class summarize conditions in the USSR during the latter part of the 1980s.

APPLICATION: Students will write a one-page essay on the topic "The Future of Perestroika."

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 45.1

Excerpts from *Perestroika*
by
Mikhail Gorbachev

What is perestroika? What prompted the idea of restructuring? What does it mean in the history of socialism? What does it augur for the peoples of the Soviet Union? How might it influence the outside world? All these questions concern the world public and are being actively discussed. Let me begin with the first one.

Perestroika—An Urgent Necessity

Perestroika is an urgent necessity arising from the profound processes of development in our socialist society. This society is ripe for change. It has long been yearning for it. Any delay in beginning perestroika could have led to an exacerbated internal situation in the near future, which, to put it bluntly, would have been fraught with serious social, economic and political crises.

Russia where a great Revolution took place seventy years ago, is an ancient country with a unique history filled with searchings, accomplishments and tragic events. It has given the world many discoveries and outstanding personalities.

At some stage—this became particularly clear in the latter half of the seventies—something happened that was at first sight inexplicable. The country began to lose momentum. Economic failures became more frequent. Difficulties began to accumulate and deteriorate, and unresolved problems to multiply. Elements of what we call stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism began to appear in the life of society.

Analyzing the situation, we first discovered a slowing economic growth. In the last fifteen years the national income growth rates had declined by more than a half and by the beginning of the eighties had fallen to a level close to economic stagnation. A country that was once quickly closing on the world's advanced nations began to lose one position after another. Moreover, the gap in the efficiency of production, quality of products, scientific and technological development, and the production of advanced technology and the use of advanced techniques began to widen, and not to our advantage.

Consequently, there was a shortage of goods. We spent, in fact we are still spending, far more on raw materials, energy and other resources per unit of output than other developed nations. Our country's wealth in terms of natural and manpower resources has spoilt, one may even say corrupted, us. That, in fact, is chiefly the reason why it was possible for our economy to develop extensively for decades.

As time went on, material resources became harder to get and more expensive. On the other hand, the extensive methods of fixed capital expansion resulted in an artificial shortage of manpower. In an attempt to rectify the situation somehow, large, unjustified, i.e. in fact unearned, bonuses began to be paid and all kinds of underserved incentives introduced under the pressure of this shortage, and that led, at a later stage, to the practice of padding reports merely for gain.

So the inertia of extensive economic development was leading to an economic deadlock and stagnation.

The economy was increasingly squeezed financially. The sale of large quantities of oil and other fuel and energy resources and raw material on the world market did not help. It only aggravated the situation. Currency earnings thus made were predominantly used for tackling problems of the moment rather than on economic modernization or on catching up technologically.

We failed to... meet the growing requirements in housing, in quality and sometimes quantity of foodstuffs, in the proper organization of the work of transport, in health services, in education and in tackling other problems which, naturally arose in the course of society's development.

An absurd situation was developing. The Soviet Union, the world's biggest producer of steel, raw materials, fuel and energy, has shortfalls in them due to wasteful or inefficient use. One of the biggest producers of grain for food, it nevertheless has to buy millions of tons of grain a year for fodder. We have the largest number of doctors and hospital beds per thousand of the population and, at the same time, there are glaring shortcomings in our health services. Our rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but side by side with these scientific and technological triumphs is an obvious lack of efficiency in using scientific achievements for economic needs, and many Soviet household appliances are of poor quality.

It was obvious to everyone that the growth rates were sharply dropping and that the entire mechanism of quality control was not working properly; there was a lack of receptivity to the advances in science and technology; the improvement in living standards was slowing down and there were difficulties in the supply of foodstuffs, housing, consumer goods and services.

Decay began in public morals; the great feeling of solidarity with each other that was forged during the heroic times of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction and crime were growing.

At some administrative levels there emerged a disrespect for the law and encouragement of eyewash and bribery, servility and glorification. Working people were justly indignant at the behavior of people who, enjoying trust and responsibility, abused power, suppressed criticism, made fortunes and, in some cases, even became accomplices in—if not organizers of—criminal acts.

Problems snowballed faster than they were resolved. On the whole, society was becoming increasingly unmanageable. We only thought that we were in the saddle, while the actual situation that was arising was one that Lenin warned against: the automobile was not going where the one at the steering wheel thought it was going.

The Party has found the strength and the courage to soberly appraise the situation and recognize that fundamental changes and transformations are indispensable.

An unbiased and honest approach led us to the only logical conclusion that the country was verging on crisis. This conclusion was announced at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, which inaugurated the new strategy of perestroika and formulated its basic principles.

The need for change was brewing not only in the material sphere of life but also in public consciousness. People who had practical experience, a sense of justice and commitment to the ideals of Bolshevism criticized the established practice of doing things and noted with anxiety the symptoms of moral degradation and erosion of revolutionary ideals and socialist values.

All honest people saw with bitterness that people were losing interest in social affairs, that labor no longer had its respectable status, that people, especially the young, were after profit at all cost. Our people have always had an intrinsic ability to discern the gap between word and deed. No wonder Russian folk tales are full of mockery aimed against people who like pomp and trappings; and literature, which has always played a great role in our country's spiritual life, is merciless to every manifestation of injustice and abuse of power. In their best works writers, film-makers, theater producers and actors tried to boost people's belief in the ideological achievements of socialism and hope for a spiritual revival of society and, despite bureaucratic bans and even persecution, prepared people morally for perestroika.

(Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika*, New York, 1987, pp. 17-23)

HANDOUT 45.2

1990 Appears Crucial Year for Gorbachev

■ Soviet Union: Citizens are starting to demand to know when they will see the better life their president promised when he assumed Soviet reins five years ago.

By MICHAEL PARKS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MOSCOW—Time is quickly running out for Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and 1990 appears increasingly likely to be the year when his reforms will succeed or fail.

The original economic crisis that forced the Soviet leadership to rethink 70 years of socialism has deepened. And as Gorbachev prepares for his Mediterranean summit meeting with President Bush this weekend, the Soviet Union's empty stores mock his promises of plenty with the reform of socialism.

The dramatic political changes of the last four years—a free-wheeling Parliament, open debate on the most sensitive issues, multi-candidate elections, a virtually uncensored press—have not yet developed the muscle necessary to transform the whole Soviet system and resolve the country's acute problems.

The restive non-Russian nations around the periphery of the Soviet Union are now a ring of mounting unrest that runs from the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania through Moldavia and the Ukraine down to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia and across Central Asia. Their push for independence is spurred as much by despair of substantial changes in the Soviet system as by their resurgent nationalism.

Social discontent is growing rapidly. As the lines for food and consumer goods lengthen, tempers grow shorter, and police report more and more street disturbances. Serious crimes have increased more than 35% so far this year.

Strikes, rare a year ago, are becoming common, and worker slowdowns often paralyze whole regions or industries for weeks at a time.

More than 40 million people—one in seven—now live below the official poverty line, subsisting on the equivalent of less than $80 a month. Inflation is running at nearly 10% a year, according to official figures, and this has more than eroded the pay gains of most of the middle class. Unemployment, once virtually unknown, has become a serious problem in certain regions. Corruption and black-market dealings have become the way of virtually everyone.

Amid all this, ordinary people are starting to demand to know when they will see the better life Gorbachev promised when he assumed the Soviet leadership five years ago.

Even his most dedicated supporters have developed an "eleventh hour" psychology, and some have begun suggesting that Gorbachev ought to assume dictatorial powers to ensure the success of his program—although at what they concede would be the "temporary" cost of democracy.

"The future of our society will depend not only and not so much on the economy as on whether we manage to avoid political blunders capable of provoking citizens into taking anti-constitutional actions," Otto Latsis, the influential deputy editor of the Communist Party journal Kommunist, said last week.

"The nation's leadership must advance a series of political initiatives to help people regain their faith in reform and their faith in the strength of our socialist system that has been in for much battering lately."

What has brought on such pessimism, skepticism, cynicism and plain fear is, most Soviet observers agree, the destruction of the country's old political and economic system without its replacement by the socialist millennium that Gorbachev had suggested could come with *perestroika*, his program of economic and political restructuring.

The scale of this crisis of confidence became apparent in a survey conducted last month by the National Center for the Analysis of Public Opinion that found that only 23% of the people questioned felt that their lives had improved for the better under *perestroika* and that 53% now seriously doubted whether the reforms would ever improve anything.

The reforms proposed by Gorbachev are so fundamental, however, that they amount to a redefinition of socialism, and Gorbachev sees this as one of the most important aspects of *perestroika*.

The consequent break from the political and economic system developed here over seven decades has met with substantial opposition from conservatives in the Communist Party and the government bureaucracy and provoked a sharp debate over the country's future.

Radicals and conservatives have, as a result, been able to force Gorbachev into frequent compromises that have both slowed the reforms and given them the uncertain character that now compounds the sense of crisis here.

To resolve the country's economic problems, Gorbachev has placed considerable hope on a new, six-year transitional program that, step by step, will transform the centrally planned and managed Soviet economy into one that operates on the market principles of supply and demand and that will include privately owned businesses and cooperatives competing with state enterprises.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"And he is now putting together a series of ad hoc measures, such as increased imports of consumer goods, an anti-crime campaign and greater attention to worker complaints, that he hopes will restore some of the lost confidence.

"Our forward movement may be too slow unless we manage drastically to improve the psychological climate in the country," said Kommunist deputy editor Latsis, who is a leading Soviet economist. "The people must fully understand the complexity of the situation, and we must take a fresh look at things."

But Stanislav S. Shatalin, another leading economist, warned Monday that reforms in the Soviet Union have tended to stall and then collapse—a pattern that may be repeated this year.

The country's continued economic decline—growth might come to only 1% this year—will not be arrested easily, he said, and momentum must be regained.

"Economic reforms have a history of failure in our country," Shatalin said. "All the reforms launched since 1965 have failed. This is because they have been isolated from reform of the political system, but we have corrected this. They had also failed to establish a new relationship between property and ownership, and we are correcting this.

"But I do not know whether we have that critical mass of people ready and able and wanting to put the reforms into effect. That is a major question and a key to whether we succeed or fail."

(*Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1989)

LESSON PLAN 46

TOPIC: RESISTANCE TO GORBACHEV'S REFORMS

OBJECTIVE: Students will be able to explain why the bureaucracy of the USSR resists reforms of Gorbachev.

MOTIVATION: Students will receive a copy of the short story, "BEES AND PEOPLE" by Mikhail Zoshchenko. (Handout 46.1) They will discuss and interpret the story, first with the entire class, then in groups of four.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:

1. This lesson comes at end of unit on USSR so student should be familiar with life under Stalin, the setting for this story.
2. Teacher distributes "BEES AND PEOPLE" (Handout 46.1) and students read.
3. Teacher discusses "BEES AND PEOPLE" with entire class using "Teacher's Guide."
4. Students form groups and answer questions #1-5 on "Questions for the Small Group" (Handout 46.2).
5. As groups appear to be completing the questions sheet, teacher instructs each group to send an "ambassador" to the group with the next higher number to share the results.
6. Everyone returns and questions sheets are turned in to teacher.
7. Answers to questions are discussed with entire class.

SUMMARY: Bureaucracies everywhere can become self-serving and a drag on reform.

APPLICATION: Students are instructed to identify the one reform by Gorbachev that would most likely receive the greatest resistance from the bureaucracy. They must explain why they think so. (This may have to become a homework assignment.)

Submitted by Gary Rhoades

Teacher's Guide

"BEES AND PEOPLE"
Questions for Discussion

1. Why did the collective farm send Ivan Panfilich to the city of Tambov?

   This 72 year old man used to keep bees. He would go find and buy bee hives already in production and bring them back to the collective farm.

2. What had happened to the three villages that left an extra beekeeping setup behind?

   They had been sent to Siberia (relocated to the Far East). Remind students about forced collectivization and how people were exiled to Siberia. (So peasants could be controlled and so that Siberia could be built up.)

3. How many hives did Panfilich take? How did he get them to the Railroad Station?

   16. On two carts.

4. How did Panfilich keep the bees from flying away from the train?

   Covered them up with a tarpaulin.

5. Why was the stationmaster unable to hold the train for the bees? Why couldn't he unhook the flatcar?

   Because he was a bureaucrat who thought only of his own comfort and never of the people he supposedly served.

6. Describe the disaster that took place.

   The bees returned but their hives were missing, so they attacked everyone present. Many were stung, including the stationmaster's wife, who was stung on the nose. "Now her appearance has been ruined for good." The stationmaster said: "Let there be train wrecks." WHAT DOES THAT STATEMENT TELL YOU ABOUT HIM?

HANDOUT 46.1

"BEES AND PEOPLE"
by
Mikhail Zoshchenko
(1895-1958)

A Red Army soldier came to a certain collective farm for a visit. And as a present for his relatives he brought a jar of flower honey.

And everyone liked that honey so much that the farm decided to set up a beekeeping operation of its own.

But no one around there kept bees, so the members of the collective had to do everything from the ground up—build the hives and then get the bees out of the forest and into their new apartments.

When they saw what a long time all this would take, they lost their enthusiasm. "There's no end to it," they said. "We'll be running here and there and first thing you know it'll be winter and we won't see that honey till next year. And now's when we need it."

But one of the collective farmers was a certain Ivan Panfilich, a fine man, no longer in his first youth, aged seventy-two. As a young man he had kept bees.

So he says, "If we're going to have our tea with honey this year, then somebody has got to go somewhere where there's bees being kept and buy what we're thinking about."

The farmers say, "This farm is loaded. Money is no object. Let's buy bees in full production, already perched in the hives. Because if we went and got bees out of the woods they might turn out to be no good. They might start turning out some kind of horrible honey like linden or something. But we want flower honey."

And so they gave Ivan Panfilich some money and sent him off to the city of Tambov.

He arrives in Tambov and the people there tell him "You did the right thing coming to us. We've just had three villages relocated to the Far East and there's one extra beekeeping setup left behind. We can let you have it for next to nothing. But the thing is—how are you going to transport these bees? That's what we don't know. This is what you might call loose goods. In fact it has wings on. The least little thing and it'll fly every which way. We're afraid you'll get to the addressee with nothing but hives and eggs."

Panfilich says, "One way or another I'll get them there. I know bees. Been associated with bees my whole life."

And so he took sixteen hives to the station on two carts. At the station he managed to get hold of a flatcar and he put his hives on that flatcar and covered them up with a tarpaulin. And it wasn't long before the freight train took off and our flatcar rolling along with it.

Panfilich struck a pose on the flatcar and addressed the bees: "It's okay boys," he said, we'll make it! Just hang on in there in the dark a little while and when we get there I'll put you out in the flowers. And I think you'll find what you want there. But whatever you do, don't get upset about me carrying you in the dark. I covered you all with that tarpaulin on purpose so nobody would be crazy enough to fly out while the train's running. Something might happen and you wouldn't be able to hop back on board."

And so the train traveled on for a day. And another day.

By the third day Panfilich was getting a little worried. The train was going slowly. Stopping at every station. Standing there for hours. And he couldn't tell when they were going to get to where he was going.

At Polya Station Panfilich got down off his flatcar and looked up at the stationmaster. "Tell me, sir," he asked, "are we going to be stopping long at your station?"

"I really couldn't tell you," the stationmaster answered. "You could be here till evening."

"If we'll be here till evening," Panfilich said, "then I'm taking off the tarpaulin to let my bees out into your fields. Other wise they'll be worn out from this trip. This makes three days they've been sitting under the tarpaulin. They're perishing. They haven't had anything to eat or drink and they can't feed the little ones."

"Do whatever you like! What do I care about your flying passengers! I've got my hands full without them. And I should get excited about your little ones—that's the limit! Of all the stupid. . .!"

Panfilich went back to his flatcar and took off the tarpaulin.

And the weather was magnificent. Blue sky. Good old July sun. Fields all around. Flowers. A grove of chestnuts in bloom.

So Panfilich took the tarpaulin off the flatcar and all at once a whole army of bees took off into the blue.

The bees circled, looked around, and headed straight for the fields and forests.

A crowd of passengers surrounded the flatcar, and Panfilich used it as a platform to lecture them on the usefulness of bees. But while the lecture was going on, the stationmaster came out of the station and began signaling the engineer to start the train.

Panfilich gasped "Ach!" when he saw these signals, got terribly upset, and said to the stationmaster, "But my dear sir, don't send the train on, all my bees are out!"

The stationmaster said, "Well, you just whistle them back into their seats! I can't hold the train longer than three minutes."

Panfilich said, "*Please*! Just hold the train till sundown. At sundown the bees will be back in their seats. Or at least unhook my flatcar. I can't go without the bees. I only have a thousand left here; there are fifteen thousand in the fields. Try to understand the fix I'm in! Don't harden you heart to this tragedy!"

The stationmaster said, "I'm not running a health farm for bees! I'm running a railroad! The bees flew away! Beautiful! And on the next train they'll tell me the flies have flown away! Or the fleas have jumped out of the sleeping car! What am I supposed to do—hold up the train for that? Don't make me laugh!" And with that he signaled the engineer again.

And the train started off.

Panfilich, white as a sheet, stood on his flatcar, his arms spread wide, his gaze sweeping from side to side, his body trembling with indignation.

But the train goes on.

Well, a certain number of bees did manage to jump on while the train was moving. But most of them stayed behind in the fields and groves of trees. Soon the train was out of sight.

The stationmaster returned to the station and settled down to work. He was writing something in the log and drinking tea with lemon. Suddenly he heard a kind of racket on the station platform.

He opened the window to see what had happened and he saw that the passengers waiting there were in a frenzy, hopping and lurching around. The stationmaster asked, "What happened?"

"Bees have stung three passengers here," they answered, "and now they're attacking the rest. The sky is black with them!"

Then the stationmaster saw that a whole dark cloud of bees were circling around his station. They were looking for their flatcar, naturally. But there wasn't any flatcar. It had left. So they were attacking people and whatever else got in the way.

No sooner had the stationmaster left the window to go out on the platform than in through the window flew a swarm of bees, mad as hell. He grabbed a towel and began waving it about to drive the bees out of the room.

But evidently that was his great mistake.

Two bees got him on the neck, a third on the ear, and a fourth stung him on the forehead.

The stationmaster wrapped himself up in a towel and laid down on the sofa and commenced to give out these pitiful groans. Soon his assistant ran in and said, "The bees have stung other people besides you. The telegraph operator got stung on the cheek and now won't work."

The stationmaster lying on his couch, said, "Oy! What are we going to do?"

At this point another employee ran up and said, "The ticket seller—I mean to say, your wife, Klavdia Ivanovna—just got stung on the nose. Now her appearance has been ruined for good."

The stationmaster let out even louder groans and said, "We've got to get that flatcar with that crazy beekeeper back here at once." He jumped off his sofa and grabbed the telephone. From the next station down the line he heard: "Okay. We'll uncouple the flatcar right away. Only we don't have an engine to pull it to you."

The stationmaster screamed, "We'll send you the engine! Uncouple that flat at once! The bees have already stung my wife! My station Polya is deserted! All the passengers are hiding in the shed! There's nothing but bees flying around in the air! And I absolutely refuse to go outside—let there *be* train wrecks!"

And it wasn't long before the flatcar was delivered. Everyone gave a sigh of relief when they saw the flatcar, with Panfilich standing on it.

Panfilich ordered the flatcar to be placed precisely where it had been before, and the bees , when they saw their car, instantly flew up to it. But there were so many bees, and they were in such a hurry to take their seats, that there was a crush. And they raised such a buzzing and humming that a dog started howling and the pigeons scattered into the sky.

Panfilich, standing on the platform, spoke to them: "Easy boys, don't rush. Plenty of time! Everybody sit where their boarding pass says!" In ten minutes all was quiet. When he'd made sure everything was in

order, Panfilich stepped down off his platform. And the people standing around the station began to clap. And Panfilich, like an actor, bowed to thank them and said: "Turn your collars down! Show your faces! And stop trembling—the stinging is over!"

When he's said this, Panfilich went to the stationmaster. The stationmaster, wrapped in his towel, was still lying on his sofa gasping and groaning. When Panfilich entered he groaned even loader.

"My dear sir," said Panfilich, "I'm very sorry that my bees stung you. But it was your own fault. You can't be so indifferent to things, whether they're big or little. Bees can't stand that. Bees sting people for that without giving it a second thought."

The stationmaster groaned even louder, and Panfilich went on: "Bees absolutely will not stand for being pushed around by indifferent bureaucrats. You probably treated them the way you treat people—and you see what you get."

Panfilich glanced out the window and added, "The sun's gone down. My fellow travelers have taken their seats. I have the honor to bid you good day! We're off!"

The stationmaster feebly nodded his head as though saying, "Bee off quickly!" And in a low whisper he added, "Sure you've got all the bees? See you don't leave any!"

Panfilich said, "If two or three bees get left they can be of help to you. Their buzzing will remind you of what has happened." With this, he left the room.

The next day toward evening our splendid Panfilich reached his destination with his live merchandise. They greeted him with a band.

(1941)

HANDOUT 46.2

"BEES AND PEOPLE"

Questions for the Small Group

Group #_____
Period:_____

1. Write down the 4 to 8 lines of the story that contain the essence, the meaning, the moral:

2. Explain why you selected these lines:

3. What characteristics of the bureaucracy were being criticized by the author?

4. What bad experiences have you had (or know about) with a bureaucracy?

5. Nothing happened to the author after this story was published. Why not?

LESSON PLAN 47

TOPIC: SOVIET LEADERS SINCE 1917

OBJECTIVES: The students will be able to:
1. Sequentially identify Soviet leaders from 1917;
2. Identify time periods of leadership and key events or ideas of importance associated with each leader;
3. Identify which leaders were born before the 1917 revolution;
4. Compare and contrast information about various Soviet leaders;
5. Compare terms of office between United States leaders and Soviet leaders; and
6. Using a cartoon, draw some reasonable inferences about Soviet leaders.

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Handout 47.1 provides basic information about some aspects of the leaders lives and periods in office. The teacher should have additional material ready.
2. Point out that Stalin and Brezhnev held office a total of 64 out of 72 years since the revolution, and that represents about 88% of the time. Ask students if they know the average length of time a US president holds office. (4.2 years).
3. Questions to ask:
   a) Who was the "father of Soviet communism"?
   b) Who was the last leader in office?
   c) What do they have in common?
   d) Was any leader born after the revolution?
   e) Does it make any difference when a leader was born as to how he might lead?
   f) Were any of the leaders sons of the working or the peasants class? Who were they?
   g) How well educated were the leaders? How well educated should leaders be?
   h) Does our president have to have a college degree?

SUMMARY: This lesson sets the stage for a wider range of activities including in depth historical stories, on leaders, and examination of the foreign policies.

APPLICATION: A set of pictures of Soviet leaders, makes a dynamic presentation when used with the staircase on the board. Place them on the left side next to the information about each leader, except for Gorbachev, place his on the right. Pictures available from Novosti Press Agency, The Perfection Form Company, Logan, Iowa, 51546 or your teachers' supply house.

Submitted by Bob Atherton

HANDOUT 47.1

LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION			
SOVIET LEADER	YEARS IN POWER	FAMILY BACKGROUND	ASPECTS OF LEADERSHIP
V.I. Lenin (1870-1924)	1917-1924 Died in office at age 54	Born Vladimir Ulianov, son of a school teacher, father was of the lower nobility	Recognized leader of the November 1917 Revolution, regarded as the "Father of Soviet Communism"; instituted policy of 'War Communism' requiring peasants to relinquish surplus grain to Soviet authorities during the civil war (1917-1921); in 1921 he initiated the New Economic Policy (NEP) which allowed peasants to sell grain on the open market.
Josef Stalin (1879-1953)	1929-1953 Died in office at age 74	Son of a shoemaker	Seized control following a power struggle with Leon Trotsky and other prominent Bolsheviks; he promoted idea of "Socialism in One Country" and was responsible for series of Five Year Plans, beginning in 1928, to speed up industrial production; adopted policy of forced collectivization resulting in the Great Famine of 1932-33 and liquidation of Kulaks; responsible for Great Purge starting in 1936; led Soviets to victory in World War II.
Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971)	1953-1964 Removed from office in 1964, died at age 77	Son of a coal miner	De-Stalinization speech in 1956; coined phrase of 'peaceful coexistence'; major crises during his time in power included the Sino-Soviet split, the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban missile crisis.
Leonid Brezhnev (1906-1982)	1964-1982 Died in office at age 76	Son of a metal worker	Policy of detente toward the United States, economic stagnation at home; unpopular war in Afghanistan, low agricultural production.
Yuri Andropov (1914-1984)	1982-1984 Died in office at age 70	Son of a railway worker	Formerly head of KGB from 1967-81.
Konstantin Chernenko (1911-1985)	1984-1985 Died in office at age 74	Son of a peasant	Served shortest term of any Soviet leader.
Mikhail Gorbachev (1931-)	1985-present	Son of a peasant	First Soviet leader with college education, earned law degree from Moscow University; initiated policies of glasnost and perestroika; supported reform movements in eastern Europe.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LESSON PLAN 48

TOPIC: POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE USSR, 1955-1975

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Identify political positions dominated by women during the post-Stalin period;
2. Compare the periods between 1955-1964 and 1965-1973;
3. Predict the future political role of women in the USSR.

MOTIVATION: Simulation - ATTENTION! ATTENTION! ALL POINTS BULLETIN! "Effective immediately, all females are now declared subservient, non-existent, and non-essential. If they are seen in public, they will be sent to a prison camp; if they speak in public, they will be shot to death; and all males must wear 'DOWN WITH FEMALES' buttons at all times."

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Prerequisite reading: Joel Moses, "Women in Political Roles." (Handout 48.1)
   a. What conclusions can be drawn from the statistics on "People in the Communist Party"?
   b. What conclusions can be drawn from Statistics under II. Education?
   c. Under III Working Conditions, what correlation can be drawn between income and the kind of professions Soviet women engaged in?

SUMMARY: Examine all the statistics on Handout 48.1. Based on those figures, write an essay entitled "Equal Rights for Women in the Soviet Union"

APPLICATION: Predict the future outcome of women in politics during glasnost and perestroika (1983/1993). What changes must take place in the Communist Party, education, and working conditions to increase the role of women in politics?

Submitted by Dorothy Paige

HANDOUT 48.1

"Women in Political Roles"
A Study by Joel Moses

I. Politics (1966-67)
People in the Communist Party

	in total pop.	in Party	in Central Committee Party	in Politbureau
Men	45.8%	79.1%	97.2%	100%
Women	54.2	20.9	2.8	—

II. Education
Average Degree of Education Held by Soviet Men and Women

Educational Level	Men	Women
Higher Education	31%	4%
Secondary Education	50	30
Elementary Education	19	66

III. Working Conditions

A. Wages	% of Women	Av. Income
Industry	47	112.0 rubles
Building	28	119.4
Transport	24	115.5
Trade	74	82.2
Education	72	96.4
Health	85	82.2

B. Worker Preference for Man or Woman as Manager, Colleague, or Subordinate

Work Role	Man (%)	Woman (%)
Manager	77	23
Colleague	59	41
Subordinate	50	50

LESSON PLAN 49

TOPIC: RELIGION IN THE SOVIET UNION

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Explain the Communist attitude toward religion;
2. Illustrate the persistence of religious belief as expressed in Soviet poetry.

MOTIVATION: On an overhead projector, the following quotes are displayed to the class:

Karl Marx: "Religion is the opium of the people."

V.I. Lenin: "Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weigh upon the masses who are crushed by continuous toil for others, by poverty and loneliness."

> "Religion teaches those who toil in poverty all their lives to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of reward in heaven. As for those who live upon the labor of others, religion teaches them to be charitable in earthly life, thus providing a cheap justification for their whole exploiting existence and selling them at a reasonable price tickets to heavenly bliss."

Josef Stalin: "We guarantee the right of every citizen to combat by argument, propaganda, and agitation any and all religion. The Communist Party cannot be neutral toward religion. [The Party] stands for science, and all religion is opposed to science."

Based on these quotes, what has been the Soviet attitude toward religion?

LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. Despite ideological opposition to religion in the Soviet Union, many people have clung to their religious convictions. This point is illustrated in Handout 49.1, which features samples from three poets writing at different periods in Soviet history.

Marina Tsvetaeva wrote "I thank you, Lord" at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. Her works were not published in the USSR until 1961, twenty years after her death.

Anna Akhmatova was the first Russian woman to acquire the reputation as a great 20th century poet. Her works contain strong religious undertones, and she was ostracized by the Stalinist regime. "Crucifixion," written from 1940-43, is part of a series of short poems entitled *Requiem*. She was allowed to publish again only after Stalin's death.

Boris Pasternak, known to Westerners as the author of *Dr. Zhivago*, is more renowned in the Soviet Union as a poet rather than a novelist. "Mary Magdalen" was written in the period following the end of World War II.

The teacher will distribute Handout 49.1, and ask the following questions:
   a. The poet has been called "the soul of a society." In what way do the poets featured on Handout 49.1 reflect the soul of Soviet society?
   b. Can you explain why people retain religious conviction despite official government condemnation of such beliefs? Can you think of other examples in history when people clung to religious beliefs despite opposition from their government?
2. The teacher will distribute Handout 49.2, "Islam Regains Its Voice."
   a. How does Gorbachev's policy toward religion differ from traditional Soviet policy toward religion?
   b. What evidence is presented in the article to support the conclusion contained in the final sentence?

SUMMARY: What evidence is there to illustrate the persistence of religious beliefs throughout Soviet history?

APPLICATION: The teacher will distribute Handout 49.3, "Gorbachev Visits Pope, Vows Church Freedom."

1. How has the policy of perestroika encouraged religious toleration in the Soviet Union?
2. Why does Gorbachev hope that organized religion will serve as an ally for his policy of perestroika?
3. Explain why the developments described in this Handout made front-page headlines in virtually every newspaper in the world.

Submitted by Tom Bergeron and Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 49.1

I THANK YOU, LORD by Marina Tsvetaeva

I thank you Lord,
For the Land and the Ocean.
For flesh adored,
For the soul's duration,

Hot blood, cold water,
All of these, together.
—I thank you for love.
I thank you for the weather.

(9 November 1918)

CRUCIFIXION by Anna Akhmatova

"Weep not for me, Mother,
I am in my grave."

I
A choir of angels hymned the hour,
The heavens were on fire, and he
Said, "Why have You forsaken me, oh Father?"
And, "Mother, weep not for me."

II
Sobbing, Mary Magdelene writhed,
His favorite disciple stiffened,
And no one even dared to cast his eye
Upon the Mother, standing silent.

1940-1943

MARY MAGDALEN by Boris Pasternak

I

With nightfall my familiar comes,
The reckoning I owe my past,
And then my heart is gnawed within
By recollections of my lust,
The days when I was prey to men,
A fool senseless and indiscreet
Whose only haunt was in the street.

And just a few moments remain—
Then comes the silence of the tomb.
But now before the minutes take
Me, here upon the final brink,
My life before you I would break,
An alabaster vase of doom.

For, oh, my teacher and my Saviour,
Just where and what now would I be
Did not waiting eternity
Approach my table each nightfall
As though another client fell
Into the meshes of my guile?

But tell me simply what sin means,—
What death, and hell, and brimstone flame?—
When I, as everyone can see,
In boundless sorrow one and same
Grow into you, graft on a tree;

And Jesus, when I hold you fast,
Your feet upon my bending knees,
Perhaps I'm learning to embrace
The rough cross with its four-square beam,
And swoon to strain your body close
And to prepare you for the tomb.

HANDOUT 49.2

Islam Regains Its Voice
by R. Ostling

All faiths are affected by a growing accommodation between church and state in the officially atheistic nation. Last year's 1,000th anniversary celebrations greatly enhanced the privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church. This year the long-suffering Jewish community opened its first school for rabbis in 60 years, and Lithuania's Roman Catholics got their full lineup of bishops in 40 years. A similar renewal is taking place among the 55 million Muslims, who constitute the world's fifth largest Islamic population (after Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India). By some estimates, Muslims will make up one fourth of Soviet citizens by the turn of the century. Large numbers are becoming active believers, many of them young people.

The pre-Gorbachev regimes destroyed all the values of the people. Just a few years ago, no officials would have dared utter such words except in intimate conversations with friends.

In 1917 most of the country's 26,000 mosques and 24,000 religious schools were shut down. The vast majority of Islamic teachers were either killed or imprisoned.

The crucial factor is awareness inside the Kremlin that economic and cultural stagnation stems largely from the Communists' dogged policy of repressing religion and other forms of independent thought. These ideas have now changed.

Against all odds, belief has been preserved through ancient rites and modern-day courage. Religions still suffer serious limitations. Nonetheless, as glasnost penetrates everyday life, believers are starting to enjoy wider freedoms than at any other time since the atheistic persecutions were launched during the 1920's.

(From *Time* , April 10, 1989, pp. 98-101)

HANDOUT 49.3

Gorbachev Visits Pope, Vows Church Freedom

LOS ANGELES TIMES

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1989

■ **Diplomacy:** The two agree to restore Vatican-Kremlin ties. The pontiff welcomes an invitation to Moscow.

By WILLIAM D. MONTALBANO
TIMES STAFF WRITER

VATICAN CITY—Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev on Friday promised full religious freedom in the Soviet Union during a meeting with Pope John Paul II in which the two leaders also agreed to restore formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Kremlin.

The Pope gave his blessing to the restructuring of Soviet society going on under Gorbachev's program of *perestroika*, or reform and restructuring, during their historic encounter, which bridged the bitter chasm dividing Christianity and communism.

Gorbachev invited the Pope to visit the Soviet Union. And John Paul, noting improvement in the religious climate there under *perestroika*, said he hoped that further developments would allow him to make a long-awaited visit.

The Soviet president, dressed in a black suit, and the Pope, in his white robes, both seemed to enjoy the encounter of two sturdy Slavs, unabashed risk-takers who have emerged from opposite doctrinal poles to become two of the most compelling figures on the world stage today.

After a 70-minute meeting with John Paul, of which the first five minutes were alone and the remainder with Russian-Polish interpreters, Gorbachev announced the agreement to resume official ties between Moscow and the Holy See, broken during the Russian Revolution in 1917.

"Today," the Kremlin leader said at a news conference in Milan, "politics can be serious only when they are based on common human values, which of course is also the basis of morality. We really agreed about very many things. We spoke in very serious terms. I'm very pleased with [the] talks."

"I heard from the Pope his word of support for what our people are doing [*perestroika*]. This is very important for us and for everyone in the world.

And on the topic of religion, Gorbachev said: "I outlined preparations for the [new Soviet] law on the freedom of conscience, and this will provide the necessary prerequisite for religious freedom."

For the Vatican, Friday's unprecedented visit by the head of the Soviet Communist Party was a victory for decades of patient papal diplomacy toward the Communist world. This year has seen the beginnings of greater official tolerance for religion in the Soviet Union and in one country after another in socialist East Europe.

Gorbachev openly seeks the moral force of organized religion as an ally for his sweeping restructuring of an alienated Soviet society. Even as the two leaders met Friday, Soviet officials in the Ukraine were allowing members of the outlawed Eastern rite Catholic church there to inscribe themselves on an equal footing with members of other faiths. The still-pending legalization of the so-called Uniate church in the Ukraine, banned in 1946 by Josef Stalin, is a decades-old Vatican priority.

Confirming the new official view of religion in a nation that has long been aggressively atheistic, Gorbachev told the Pope that believers of many faiths, Jews to Buddhists, Christians to Muslims, live in the Soviet Union today.

"All of them have a right to satisfy their spiritual needs," he said. "Shortly, a law on the freedom of conscience will be adopted in our country."

In a groundbreaking speech in Rome on Wednesday night, Gorbachev depicted religion as a powerful moral force that is helping *perestroika*.

In brief remarks of his own after the meeting, Gorbachev said he had explained to the Pope "the problems that now exist in our country, including problems between the state and various churches, which we are addressing in a spirit of democracy and humanism and within the framework of *perestroika*."

"Respect for the peoples' national, state, spiritual and cultural identity," the Soviet leader said, "is an indispensable condition for a steady international environment, which Europe and the world now need [in order] to cross the historic watershed and attain a new period of peace."

LESSON PLAN 50

TOPIC: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE

OBJECTIVES: Students will be able to:
1. Compare Soviet policy toward East European nations in the 1950s and 1960s with current Soviet policy toward changes in Eastern Europe.
2. Explain why the Soviet Union endorses current changes in Eastern Europe.

MOTIVATION: On an overhead, the teacher will project the following newspaper headlines:

Date	Headline
June 18, 1953	Soviet Tanks Fight Riots in Berlin" (*New York Times*)
June 29, 1956	"Poles Riots Against Reds. . . Tanks Used to Quell Them" (*New York Times*)
Nov. 5, 1956	"Russians Crush Hungarian Rebels" (*New York Times*)
Aug. 21, 1968	"Czechoslovakia Invaded by Russians and Four Other Warsaw Pact Forces" (*New York Times*)
Aug. 18, 1989	"End to 45-Year Old Communist Monopoly on Power in Poland" (*Los Angeles Times*)
Oct. 8, 1989	"Hungary Reform: Communists Vote to Dissolve Party" (*Sacramento Bee*)
Nov. 4, 1989	"East Germans' New Leader Vows Far-Reaching Reforms" (*New York Times*)
Nov. 10, 1989	"East Germany Opens Berlin Wall" (*Washington Post*)
Nov. 11, 1989	"Bulgaria's Zhivkov Quits After 35 Years; Foreign Minister Replaces East Bloc's Longest-Serving Leader" (*Washington Post*)
Nov. 25, 1989	"Entire Leadership of Czechoslovakia Resigns" (*Washington Post*)
Nov. 29, 1989	"Czechoslovakia to End Communist Monopoly" (*Washington Post*)
Dec. 3, 1989	"Entire East German Leadership Resigns" (*Los Angeles Times*)
Dec. 4, 1989	"Czech Invasion [of 1968] Was 'Incorrect,' Gorbachev Says" (*Los Angeles Times*)
Dec. 5, 1989	"The Warsaw Pact Condemns Its '68 Invasion of Prague" (*Los Angeles Times*)

In what way are the first four headlines different from the rest of the headlines? What conclusions can you draw about current Soviet policy toward East European communist states?

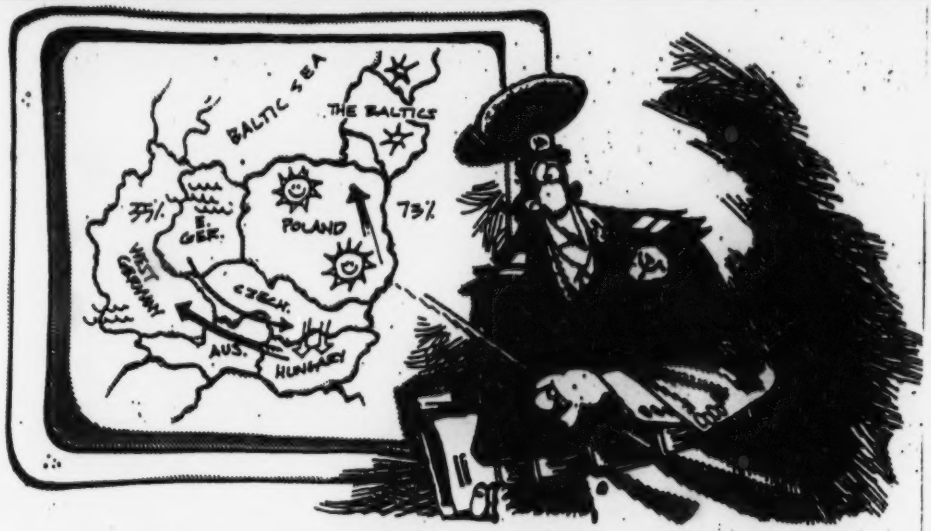
LESSON DEVELOPMENT:
1. In preparation for this lesson, on the previous day the teacher divides the class into five groups. Group 1 will research major developments between the Soviet Union and Poland since 1945; group 2 will do the same for Soviet relations with Hungary since 1945; group 3 is assigned Soviet-Czechoslovakian relations; group 4 will examine relations between the USSR and East Germany; group 5 will summarize Soviet-Bulgarian relations since 1945.
2. A spokesperson from each group will summarize those developments for the entire class.
3. The teacher will distribute Handout 50.1, "Interpreting Political Cartoons."
   a. Who does the weatherman represent in the first cartoon?
   b. what specific events does he refer to in Eastern Europe?
   c. How does the weatherman feel about those events?
   d. Who is the character depicted in the second cartoon?
   d. How does the opinion offered in the first cartoon differ from the opinion offered in the second cartoon?
4. Distribute Handout 50.2, "Why Gorbachev Doesn't Care to Strike Back."
   a. Why, according to this article, is Gorbachev not alarmed by recent developments in East Europe?
   b. How would Brezhnev have responded to those developments if he were in power in 1989?
   c. The article quotes a European diplomat who states that the Soviets "have no dogmatic basis for condemning what Poland and Hungary are doing. They don't know what socialism is, and they are not in a position to preach to anyone else. . . ." Explain what the diplomat meant.
   d. What developments in Eastern Europe might promote a Soviet military response?
   e. Would the writer of this article agree with the first or second cartoon in Handout 50.1?

SUMMARY: How has Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe changed from the 1950s and 1960s?

Submitted by Donald Schwartz

HANDOUT 50.1

Interpreting Political Cartoons



"...Look out for partial clearing in Poland with scattered uprisings across the Baltic states...further south, continued flash floods of humanity rush from East Germany clear across Czechoslovakia and Hungary into Austria with expected highs in the thousands and a 35 percent chance of continued glasnost..."

COME BOLSHEVIKS, COMMUNISTS, THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AND DON'T CRITICIZE WHAT YOU CAN'T UNDERSTAND... YOUR CITIZENS, ALAS, ARE BEYOND YOUR COMMAND...
...YOUR OLD ROAD IS RAPIDLY AGING... PLEASE GET OUTTA THE NEW ONE IF YOU CAN'T LEND A HAND, FOR THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN'...
COME CHINESE, CUBANS, BULGARIANS AND ALL... DON'T STAND IN THE DOORWAYS DON'T SHOOT UP THE HALLS, FOR HE WHO GETS HURT WILL BE HE WHO HAS STALLED...
...THERE'S A BATTLE OUTSIDE AN' IT'S RAGING IT'LL SOON SHAKE YOUR WINDOWS AN' RATTLE YOUR WALLS FOR THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN'...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HANDOUT 50.2

"Why Gorbachev Doesn't Care to Strike Back"
by Bill Keller

According to stereotypes Westerners hold dear, Mikhail S. Gorbachev should now be apoplectic over the hemorrhage of Communist power in Europe. Poland falls into the clutches of Solidarity. The Hungarian Communist Party shuns the word Communist, then fractures and quarrels over who gets to keep the bank account. The East Germans yearn westward, chanting the Soviet leader's name as a kind of political mantra. The European principalities of the Soviet Union—most notably Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—debate whether to choose Sweden or Finland as their role model, as soon as they can rid themselves of the Soviet Army.

Is the Soviet leader's finger itching toward the panic button? Or does his calm mile mask some secret strategy, a grand, clear vision of how the European pieces will fall into place, perhaps to Soviet advantage?

Judging by what Mr. Gorbachev says and does, and by the attitudes that trickle down to more accessible Soviet officials, neither of these is the case; he is neither alarmed by the evident disintegration of the Soviet raj, nor at all sure how it will turn out, beyond a general optimism that is part of his nature.

One reason Mr. Gorbachev has reacted with such relative equanimity to events that would have terrified his predecessors is that the Soviets' concept of their own security has changed. In 1968, when Leonid I Brezhnev sent tanks to suppress the Prague Spring, he may genuinely have felt that Czechoslovakia's liberalization was a danger to Soviet security, a betrayal of the European order that 20 million Soviet citizens died to establish in World War II. That order was one of blocs and impermeable borders and spheres of influence, of East and West, each in its place.

Mr. Gorbachev's favorite cliche for the emerging new order is "a common European home," which he envisions as a sort of diverse and neighborly condominium complex stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. This is a Europe mostly or entirely denuclearized, with conventional armies greatly reduced and pulled back to defensive postures far behind the lines, since the risk of war in the nuclear age in unacceptable.

This concept has been derided as a half-baked utopia, or more skeptically as a scheme to lower the West's guard, but increasingly Western diplomats have come to believe he means it. Like most foreign policy concepts, it grows out of a domestic imperative. Mr. Gorbachev needs a de-escalation of world tensions to turn his energies inward, and an economic integration with the more robust states of Europe is critical to any revival of the East.

A second reason Mr. Gorbachev accepts the shudders in Eastern Europe is that he believes they are to a large extent inevitable, a realignment that has been too long postponed by rigid dogma and military threat. The forces of history, Mr. Gorbachev and his ideologists argue, can to some extent be managed and shaped by political means, but they cannot be long contained by force or the threat of it, which only postpones and magnifies the explosion.

In a speech celebrating the bicentennial of the French Revolution in July, Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Mr. Gorbachev's intellectual partner in perestroika, said that Stalin spilled rivers of blood in part because his predecessors implanted a "morbid faith in the possibility of forcing social and historical development." Mr. Yakovlev, now the Politburo member who oversees foreign policy, argues passionately that progress cannot be induced by dogma, might or intimidation.

Even if the Soviet Union wanted to command conformity, one Western European diplomat said, it would have a hard time spelling out what it wants, given the confusion about where the Soviet Union itself is headed. "They have no dogmatic basis for condemning what Poland and Hungary are doing," the diplomat said, "They don't know what socialism is, and they are not in a position to preach to anyone else what it is, how to live."

The one thing Mr. Gorbachev has preached, forcefully at home and more discreetly abroad, is the religion of reform, especially political reform. When East Germans began streaming through Hungary to the West, Moscow tut-tutted a bit but did not interfere—not surprising considering that Moscow has been issuing exit visas to Soviet Germans at the rate of about 8,000 a month. And a week ago Mr. Gorbachev prodded the East German leadership to relax its rigid political controls before the frustrated populace falls into the arms of the West.

A third factor in Moscow's evident calm is that the Soviet psychology, among officials and the general public, has adjusted to crisis. Television footage that would have been a sensation a year ago—tanks in the streets of Soviet Armenia, say, or the wayward politics of Poland—have become routine.

A favorite diplomatic parlor game in Moscow is guessing where Mr. Gorbachev would draw the line, if he would draw one at all. What event could suddenly raise the level of fear in the Kremlin, or in the army or the K.G.B., to the point where Moscow would feel obliged to do something?

Most agree that Mr. Gorbachev would respond, with whatever political pressure he could muster, with threats, not inconceivably with military force, if one of the Baltic republics moved quickly to secede. Diplomats, also suspect that he would not sit still if Poland or Hungary decided to bolt from the Warsaw Pact military alliance, as they have promised not to do. and no doubt the sudden, unpredictable turmoil in East Germany frightens Moscow, the more so since no one saw it coming this soon.

But he line is murky and changing, and Western Europe seems as anxious as Moscow that it not be crossed. In recent months, for example, the Baltic republics have been getting urgent admonitions to be patient, especially from West Germany and Scandinavia. The neighborly advice has contributed to a growing sense of realpolitik within the Baltic independence movements. Estonia has retreated for now from an election law that would have disenfranchised many Russian speakers. Last weekend, Latvian nationalists accepted an unspecified transition period, during which they will stay within the Soviet federation.

In his speech to the Foreign Policy Association in New York early this month, Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze acknowledged that the rapid pace of events causes some "overheating" of the political climate. "This does create problems," he said, "but in our situation slower pace would probably create even bigger ones."

(*New York Times*, October 15, 1989)